THE ROMANIZATION OF ATTIC RITUAL SPACE IN THE AGE OF AUGUSTUS

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES AND CLASSICS

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2019

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

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Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my thesis committee, Professors David Soren, Mary Voyatzis, and David Romano, who took the time to read this and gave me all the guidance and support I needed to finish it. I would also like to thank all my other graduate and undergraduate professors who supported me, taught me, and gave me all the tools I needed to write this thesis. I would also like to thank my fellow graduate students and all my friends who put up with random ramblings about Athens and Augustus and kept me company on late nights and long weekends. I would also like to express gratitude to my family – my grandmother, aunts and uncles, siblings and cousins - who have supported me throughout my academic career, never failed to show up when I needed them, even when I lived two days' away, and sent me sweet messages that brightened up my day.

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Abstract

The Romanization of Greece is a topic that has been traditionally. In the last few decades, however, this topic has received more interest and attention from scholars even as the concept of Romanization has begun to be criticized and reexamined. Even with this new interest, however, not enough attention has been paid to the early Imperial Period and the significant changes Athens underwent in the Age of Augustus. The focus of this study, then, is to both critically look at the traditional views of Romanization in Athens, as well as the modern ones, and to examine how exactly Rome influenced the city in the early Imperial Period.

The focus of this study specifically is to look at the changes Attic religious space underwent and how these changes can be directly linked to Roman influence and action in both Athens proper and Attica broadly. The construction of the very first temple dedicated to the Imperial cult in mainland Greece, the numerous changes that occurred in the ancient Agora, and the restorations and renovations of ritual spaces throughout Attica are all clear indications of Romanization in the Early Imperial Period and are therefore, the focus of this study. These changes occurred in both traditionally Athenian spaces and in traditionally Athenian frameworks that were repurposed and reused to suit the Roman Empire, which will be showcased throughout this work.

Introduction

1.1

Roman Greece has traditionally been one of the least researched periods of Greek archaeology, and although this has changed in recent decades, with several notable works discussed below, it is still an underrepresented period of Greek and Roman archaeology. This underrepresentation is a result of several conceptions that were begun by early archaeologists and propagated for decades before recently coming under scrutiny. Two principal misconceptions are one - the idea that the Classical period of Greece is the pinnacle of Greek society, which propagated the notion that anything after Classical times represents a decline in Greek culture seen in the architecture, art, and written works, and two - the idea that the Romans, although great in military power and engineering innovations, were lesser to the Greeks in ways that make their mark on the Greek lands less important for study.

These issues are particularly prominent in the study of Athens, largely because the city has been seen as a place where Greek culture continued to thrive, and where the Roman impact was minimal and gradual. This idea is by no means just a modern one – ancient Romans and Greeks alike considered Athens to be the center of Hellenic culture under the Empire both because of its educational value as the home of philosophy, rhetoric, drama, and other such arts, and its reputation for piety. These perceptions are not necessarily incorrect. The issue, however, is the implication that Athens could not have been affected by Roman impact or was minimally affected, because it was a cultural center. This view is fundamentally misleading for several reasons, but the most notable flaw is the presupposition that this city which received a good amount of Roman attention from the Late Hellenistic period through the Imperial period (in

various forms of students at its schools, Romans moving to the city, visitors, and wealthy benefactors), would not have been affected by such interactions.

This viewpoint is undoubtedly changing, but the traditional ideas still hold some weight in how scholars view Imperial Age Athens, particularly in areas where the city was believed to have excelled at its height. The goal of this thesis is to showcase that Athens did indeed undergo changes in the Roman period, termed here and throughout the rest of this thesis as Romanization, that these changes occurred early on in the Imperial period, and that the changes in the early Imperial period shaped the way that Romanization would occur throughout the rest of the Roman period in Attica.

This study focuses only on one aspect of Attic life, public ritual space, and one time period, the Augustan Age. Public ritual space was chosen both because of Athens' famous piety amongst the Greek *poleis*, which is discussed in depth in the following chapters, and because of Augustus' own reputation for extreme piety. The Augustan Age was chosen as a focal point simply because it was the very beginning of the Roman Imperial period and is therefore the best starting off point for determining how early and in what ways Romanization began in Attic ritual space. Therefore, although there was significant Roman work done in Attica in later phases, such as during the reign of Hadrian, they will not be included in this study. Before discussing Attic ritual spaces in detail, however, it is important to define the term Romanization and explain how it is used in this thesis.

1.2 The concept of Romanization

The concept of Romanization is integral to this thesis and therefore, is important to clearly set out what is meant by the term. Traditionally, Romanization implied an evolution of a

provincial area, most commonly the western part of the Empire, towards an increasingly more Roman appearance, such as Britain.[1] This change was easily traced by the appearance and abundance of Roman artifacts, architecture, practices, and other such things.[2] In this traditional view, the Eastern provinces were considered almost entirely exempt from the process of Romanization because Greek culture was considered, as previously discussed, generally on par or superior to Roman culture and thus unaffected by the Roman influence.

This traditional view, however, has been questioned in the last few decades as it implies that the influence between Rome and its provinces was entirely one directional, from core to periphery, and it centered around the idea that Rome had a concentrated desire to improve her provinces and make them more visibly Roman.[3] These aspects of the traditional view can be problematic and are shaped, at least somewhat, by the theories surrounding the European colonizing practices in the 19th century. This does not mean, however, that the concept of romanization is no longer viable for use in academic study. Rather, the concept is incredibly useful for understanding and defining the changes that took place under the Roman empire, particularly when searching for signs of extensive Roman presence and contact, as long as one acknowledges that the cultural impact of romanization is not simply one-way, from Rome to its provinces, in an attempt to entirely Romanize the province, but a process in which each impacted area was affected uniquely. Romanization, then, can best be described as the process in which Roman influence was exerted onto a particular place and how that place adapted to and utilized the influence.

[1] Alcock 1997, 1.
[2] Alcock 1997, 1.
[3] Alcock 1997, 1.

Each area under the Roman Empire was different; therefore it is important to discuss how Romanization took place in Athens, specifically. Athens, along with the other Greek *poleis*, is an area traditionally considered unaffected by Romanization, as discussed earlier. It is true, generally, that Rome did not approach Athens as a place in need of cultural improvement – Hellenic culture, particularly that of Athens, was praised by Romans and subjects such as sculpture, drama, poetry, rhetoric, architectural styles were emulated and studied by many elite Romans. This does not mean, however, that Athens was exempt from Roman influence. As is shown in this thesis, Athens' reaction to Roman influence in public, ritual space was multifaceted. Romanization was shaped by Roman interest and benefactions to the city and this can be seen in the ways Attica adapted to Roman rule.

In some cases, such as the Temple of Roma and Augustus, Athenians themselves constructed monuments meant to cater to Roman interests and curry favor from the emperor. In other cases, Romans or those familiar with the Roman style, built temples and buildings in the Roman style in a traditionally Athenian space. Both of these examples are different ways that Romanization affected and changed the Athenian landscape in the early Imperial period, establishing a precedent for how the Athenians and the Roman emperors would continue to interact with each other throughout the Imperial period as well as how Roman influence would be exerted and adapted into the Athenian religious sphere.

1.3 Previous Scholarship

There are a number of works on Romanization, Roman Attica, and Athenian religion that have impacted this work. Michael Hoff and Susan Rotroff's edited book entitled *The Romanization of Athens,* contains several contributions that were influential for the discussion of Romanization in general and the impact Augustus had on Athens. In this volume, Susan Alcock

discusses Romanization and how the theory has changed within the field and how it can still be useful for studying Imperial Athens, while Susan Walker contributed a study of Athens under the first emperor, Augustus. General histories, such as that of Robin Waterfield and that of Ian Morris and Barry Powell, and comprehensive books on Athenian religion, such as that of Robert Parker, were all integral for understanding the historical and religious contexts in which changes occurred during the Roman period. As for Athens in particular, John Camp's works on the Agora and Acropolis are incredibly important for archaeological information on these key areas in general. Michael Hoff has also written extensively on Roman, specifically Augustan, Athens, while Susan Alcock's *Graecia Capta: the Landscapes of Roman Greece,* is highly influential for the study of Roman Greece.

As for the sites and buildings chosen in particular, George Mylonas and Michael Cosmopoulos have both done extensive work on the origins and nature of Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries while Kevin Clinton has published extensively on Roman Eleusis and the Eleusinian priesthoods. Nefeli Illiou, Helene Whittaker, and Mary-Evelyn Farrior all did extensive work on the Temple of Roma and Augustus while much of the information for the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania is attributed to T. Leslie Shear Jr.'s 1980-1993 excavations of the Agora. Many other authors also contributed to this field and they will be mentioned throughout the following chapters.

1.4 Significance of this Work

A work on the Romanization of Athenian ritual space is important for several reasons. In general, it continues the conversation of how Roman influence impacted an area that has been traditionally seen as unaffected or minimally affected by years of foreign rule, and it allows new light to be shed on areas of Attica not generally discussed in this topic. Buildings such as the

Temple of Roma and Augustus and the Temple of Ares in the Agora have received ample attention, but the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania is generally mentioned, at most, in passing but it is one of the most outwardly Roman-influenced religious structures in Athens. Similarly, much work has been done on the Imperial cult, but discussions of it at Eleusis are largely confined to the later periods such as under Hadrian and his Panhellenion, despite evidence that it began as early as the Augustan reign.

This thesis showcases the spread of Romanization throughout Attic ritual space in the Augustan period using both commonly cited examples, such as the Temple of Roma and Augustus, and those less commonly cited that, nevertheless, are clear examples of Romanization. It also attempts to showcase that the Romanization was not just in Athens proper, where Imperial interest and benefaction was greatest, but in places of incredible religious importance, such as Eleusis. It also attempts to open the conversation for further research into areas that are not generally talked about in the topic of Romanization or Roman Athens except in passing, such as Sounion, Pallene, and Rhamnous, in the hopes that future research will be done in these areas.

1.5 Contents

The following chapters of this thesis all pertain to Attica and discuss various ritual spaces. The first chapter deals with Athens proper and it begins with the historical background of the city from the Hellenistic period leading into the Augustan period, which is followed by a discussion of Athenian religious practice, with particular attention paid to the emergence of the Imperial cult from the worship of Hellenistic rulers. The chapter then delves into the archaeological evidence itself, starting with the changes that took place on the Acropolis. The second chapter focuses solely on the Athenian Agora and the building program conducted within it – specific attention is paid to the Temple of Ares and the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania.

The third chapter is centered around places in Attica in general, with a particular focus on Eleusis as it is a religious site vital to Attic religion. A brief historical summary of Eleusis is laid out, followed by a discussion of the Mysteries and then a section devoted specifically to Romans and their interactions at the Mysteries, beginning in the Republic period and going through Augustus's reign. A section on Roman architecture at Eleusis, beginning briefly with Late Republic works and continuing into Augustan additions is then laid out. The chapter concludes with a section on other Attic sites affected by the Augustan reign, including Piraeus, Sounion, Pallene, and Rhamnous. In the concluding chapter all the main arguments are summarized and final analyses are completed.

Chapter 1: Athens

Athens was the most important area of Attica as a whole and it was significant both in the Greek world and in the larger Mediterranean. This is particularly evident in the Roman period when Athenian architectural and sculptural styles, rhetoric, drama, and philosophy made the city a cultural capital of the Greek world. As such, it is important to begin the discussion of the Romanization of Attic ritual space in the city proper.

1.1 Historical Context

The story of how Athens went from a free *polis* to a "free" city under the control of Rome is long and complicated; nevertheless, it is an essential part of understanding how Athenian religion came to be, in part, influenced by the Roman Empire and the desires of its elites. Athens has an extensive history but for the parameters of this thesis, it is only necessary to begin in the mid- to late Hellenistic period, when Athens was increasingly under the control of foreign influences and when Rome was first beginning to turn its sights to the eastern lands.

Early on in the Hellenistic period, Athens fell under the control of Demetrius the Besieger, the first Antigonid king of Macedon.[4] Demetrius the Besieger, also known as Demetrius I, rather than announcing his control outright, claimed to restore democracy to the Athenians while instituting an oligarchy controlled by his ardent supporters.[5] Demetrius I kept Athens supplied with grain and protected during his war against Cassander and in honor of this, the Athenians voted to give him and his father divine honors.[6] Demetrius I and his father,

[4] Demetrius the Besieger took control of Athens after expelling Demetrius of Phaleron who had taken control first. Much of what is known of Demetrius the Besieger comes from Plutarch's biography, *Demetrius. Demetrius* 8-9.
[5] Plutarch, *Demetrius* 8.5.
[6] The Athenians, according to Diodorus of Sicily, voted to erect golden statues of Demetrius and his father, Antigonus I, near the statues of the Tyrannicides, to give them both golden crowns, to build an altar "of the Saviors", to perform contests, sacrifices, and processions in their honor, to weave their images into Athena's

Antigonus I, were not the first foreigners to receive divine honors from the Athenians– Alexander the Great had received them first – but, by granting them again, Athens had fully embedded itself in the Eastern tradition of worshiping living rulers which would become a Hellenistic norm that would, in turn, give way to the Imperial cult.[7]

Demetrius I's honors were repealed after his defeat in 301 BCE, but his involvement in Athens was far from over.[8] He returned to the city in 295 BCE in order to retake it and ruthlessly starved it into submission.[9] Following this act, discontent in Athens and other anti-Macedonian *poleis* led to a rebellion against the Antigonids and the Chremonidean War broke out between the Greek cities and Macedonia.[10] The Chremonidean War lasted from 267-261 BCE, but the freedom that Athens was fighting for only lasted until 263 BCE when the city surrendered to Demetrius I's son, Antigonus Gonatas.[11] This war was one of Athens' last significant forays into international politics and Athens continued to be loyal to the Macedonian family for over thirty years even as the city itself fell into physical and economic decline.[12]

The control of the Antigonids had a profound effect over the political traditions of the city – the high offices of the city began to be chosen by election instead of by lot, politicians could be re-elected over and over again, and the Areiopagos increasingly gained power over the Assembly and the Council.[13] Furthermore, Athenian citizenship laws, such as the requirement

peplos, and to add two new tribes to the traditional ten named after them. Diodorus of Sicily *Historical Library,* 20.46.

[7] Waterfield 2004, 241.

[8] Demetrius the Besieger was defeated by Cassander and his allies at the Battle of Ipsus in Phrygia. A full account of this battle and the subsequent death of his father, Antigonos, can be found in Plutarch *Demetrius,* 28-29.

[9] Plutarch vividly describes the invasion of Attica, the siege of the city and the surrender of the Athenians in *Demetrius,* 33-34.

[10] Waterfield 2004, 243.

[11] Waterfield 2004, 243.

[12] Most famously, the Long Walls between Piraeus and Athens collapsed and were never fully rebuilt, effectively turning the city and its harbor into two separate towns. Waterfield 2004, 243.

[13] Waterfield 2004, 245.

that every citizen child must be born from a citizen mother and father, originally put forth by Pericles during the Peloponnesian War, were relaxed significantly to combat a declining population and acquiesce to the increasingly cosmopolitan make-up of the Hellenistic Age.[14] Despite these changes, or perhaps because of them, Athens remained loyal to the Macedonian throne until 229 BCE, when the city's new leaders Eurykleides and Mikion bribed the commander of the Macedonian garrisons to leave Attica.[15] While Eurykleides and Mikion led the city, Athens stayed clear of anti-Macedonian efforts, and, instead, focused on strengthening the defensive walls of the city and re-establishing ties with the Ptolemaic dynasty in order to protect themselves against the Macedonians.[16] As part of their relationship with the Ptolemies, Athens awarded Ptolemy III with divine honors in 224 BCE.[17]

While Athens fluctuated between being under and outside the control of the Antigonid Dynasty, Rome was quickly rising to power by conquering all of Italy, including the western Greek cities in Southern Italy.[18] Rome continued conquering territory by warring against their neighbors – most notably the Carthaginians and the surviving Western Greek cities in Sicily.[19] By the end of the Punic Wars, Rome had converted Sicily into its first *provincia* and permanently ended Greek freedom in the West.[20] Around the same time as the Second Punic War, Rome turned its attention towards the Greek city-states under the control of the Macedonians and began interfering in the East.

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[14] Waterfield 2004, 245.
[15] Plutarch discusses this event in *Aratus,* 34.3-5.
[16] Polybius discusses this in *Histories,* 106.6-7.
[17] Polybius mentions and derides these honors in *Histories,* 106.7.
[18] Morris and Powell 2006, 529.
[19] Notably through their victories in all the Punic Wars. For an in-depth ancient account of the Punic Wars, see Livy's *History of Rome.*
[20] Morris and Powell 2006, 530-534.

At the end of the 3rd century BCE, the Hellenistic kingdoms fought constantly amongst themselves, which caused unrest throughout the Greek city-states. This unrest led to the First Macedonian War, Rome's first direct involvement in Greece, when they supported the Aetolian League's attempt to break out from Macedonian rule.[21] The Athenians remained steadfastly neutral throughout the beginning of the war, but when unrest in Alexandria ended Ptolemaic support, the city was forced to turn to Rome for help against the Macedonian king, Philip V.[22] Rome's interest in helping Athens was undoubtedly, in part, because Philip V had allied himself with Carthage, and so the city allied with the Aetolians and aided the rebellion against the Macedonians.[23] The war ended, however, with the Aetolians suing for peace without Rome in 206 BCE and Rome following suit only after ensuring Philip V would not aid the Carthaginians anymore.

The peace lasted only four years, until, following a grievous sacrilege in Eleusis, Athens renewed hostilities by executing a group of Arkananian men, who had been allies of Philip V.[24] A joint force of Arkananians and Macedonians attacked Attica in response and Athens requested help from Rome in 200 BCE. The Romans sent the general Titus Quinctius Flamininus who utterly defeated the Macedonian phalanx at Cynosephalae in 197 BCE, effectively ending the war.[25] Flamininus then ordered Philip V to cease his control of the Greek cities and infamously declared the Greeks "free".[26] Many Greek cities, in turn, awarded Flamininus divine honors – the first of all Romans to receive this distinction – and the general carried off many Greek spoils

[21] Most of the information concerning the Macedonian Wars comes from the ancient historian Polybius' *Histories.*
[22] Waterfield 2004, 246.
[23] This treaty is discussed in Polybius' *Histories,* 5.9.
[24] Livy discusses this incident in detail in 31.7-9.
[25] A detailed account of the battle is provided by Polybius 18.24-26.
[26] "The freedom of the Greeks" was famously proclaimed at the Isthmian Games of 196 BCE. Polybius 18.46.

back to Rome.[27] Although the war lasted only a few years, Attica was ravaged and the countryside never fully recovered - many destroyed rural sanctuaries and shrines were abandoned.[28] Macedonian hatred was so high that Athens abolished both the tribes they had named in honor of Demetrius I, erased Macedonian names from public inscriptions, and tore down all the statues of Philip and his ancestors.[29] Rather than turning to Flamininus and the Romans, however, Athens replaced the Macedonians with Attalos I of Pergamon and granted him honors previously held by Demetrius I.[30]

Following the war, many Athenians feared the growing Roman presence in Greece but they still willingly mediated between Rome and the Greek city-states and allowed Roman ships to harbor at Piraeus.[31] Roman interference continued in Greece – they completely destroyed the Aetolian League at the pass of Thermopylae in 191 BCE and they decimated the Macedonian kingdom in the Third Macedonian War and installed a puppet king to govern it afterwards.[32] During this war, Athens was responsible for supplying the Roman army with grain and in return for its support the Romans gave Athens control of Delos and several other Aegean islands.[33]

The Athenians eagerly took control of Delos by expelling the Delians and taking over the cult and treasury of Apollo.[34] Delos was a main center of trade throughout the Mediterranean and, although Rome insisted it remain free, many Athenians grew wealthy through the thriving

[27] The honors given to Flamininus are described in Plutarch's *Flamininus,* 16-17.
[28] Susan Alcock gives a detailed account of the sacred landscape in her book *Graecia Capta.* Alcock 1996, 172-214.
[29] Waterfield 2004, 247.
[30] Polybius *Histories,* 16.25.
[31] Waterfield 2004, 248.
[32] A detailed account of the Third Macedonian War and its aftermath is detailed in Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius.* Morris and Powell 2006, 537.
[33] Strabo *Geography,* 10.5.4.
[34] Polybius *Histories,* 32.7.

Delian slave trade and the return of traders to Piraeus.[35] The influx of wealth allowed Attica to reunify and the city was further revived through cordial relationships with other *poleis,* an influx of students flocking to the city's philosophical schools, and benefactors supplying money to repair public monuments.[36] Athens' revival, however, led to a series of aggressions which caused tensions with Rome that were only somewhat eased by a delegation of Athenian philosophers.[37] Despite the strained relationship, the Romans respected the city for its cultural and academic prowess and when Macedonia was converted into Rome's second *provincia* and Corinth was destroyed because of its involvement in the Achaean League, both in 146 BCE, Athens was allowed to remain a free city.[38]

Between 146 BCE and 89 BCE, Athens continued honoring Rome as its benefactor and sacrificed for the Roman people while more wealth poured into the city through Piraeus.[39] Despite this prosperity and relative freedom, anti-Roman sentiments arose and in 89 BCE, when Mithridates VI, the king of Pontus, declared war against Rome, Athens sided with him.[40] This decision, spearheaded by the philosopher Athenion and a promise by Mithridates to replace the pro-Roman oligarchy with democracy, would prove disastrous for the Athenians.[41] First, Mithridates sent his general Archelaus to Greece and the man did not hesitate to replace

[35] Waterfield 2004, 248.
[36] Waterfield 2004, 248.
[37] These aggressions included the aforementioned expulsion of the Delians and the attempted annexation of Oropos, a town located on the border between Attica and Boeotia. In response to Oropos, the Romans had fined the Athenians 500 talents but the Athenians successfully managed to get it lowered to 100. Polybius *Histories,* 33.4.
[38] Macedonia became a province of Rome after the general Quintus Caecilius Metellus' defeat of the last Macedonian king, Andriscus. Dio Cassius describes this altercation, the destruction of Corinth and the declaration of the other *poleis* as free in his *History of Rome,* 21.
[39] More traders came into Piraeus following the destruction of Corinth. Waterfield 2004, 249.
[40] These anti-Roman sentiments led to a devastating massacre of Roman and Italian people throughout all of Asia Minor, as reported by Dio Cassius 31.101.
[41] An in-depth account of the First Mithridatic War, including the sacks of Athens and Piraeus, is reported in Plutarch's *Sulla,* 11-14.

Athenion with a pro-Mithridates tyrant named Aristion.[42] Archelaus then made Piraeus his headquarters for the war, insuring that the bulk of the fighting would fall onto Attica and its people.[43]

The decision to make Attica the battleground for the war, more than all the others, would prove fateful for the Athenians when the Roman general Sulla arrived in Greece at the head of an illegal army to fight Mithridates and Aristion.[44] Sulla ruthlessly plundered sanctuaries throughout Greece to finance his campaign before quickly sealing Archelaus in Piraeus and Aristion in Athens.[45] Without access to the supply-line in Piraeus, the Athenians starved and Sulla was able to break in and sack the city in 86 BCE.[46] This sack was devastating – thousands were killed, countless Athenian treasures were carried off to Rome along with majority of the slave population, and many buildings, including the Erechtheion, were damaged.[47] When Archelaus was finally driven out of Piraeus sometime after the sack of Athens, the city was completely destroyed and Athens' port never fully recovered.[48]

When the war ended, Sulla fined the *poleis* so forcefully that many were bankrupted, had to borrow money to hire private armies, and were forced to turn to wealthy Italians acting as euergetists.[49] Athens itself was allowed to remain "free" but a new pro-Roman oligarchy was instated and, although it was still technically exempt from taxes, it was subjected to frequent

[42] Plutarch *Sulla,* 11-14.
[43] Plutarch *Sulla*, 11.3.
[44] Plutarch *Sulla,* 10.
[45] Plutarch *Sulla,* 12.
[46] The siege and subsequent sack of the city was reportedly brutal for the Athenians. People reportedly boiled shoes and leather flasks for food and when the city was taken, the Cerameicus was flooded with blood. Plutarch *Sulla,* 13-14.
[47] Plutarch *Sulla,* 14.7.
[48] Plutarch *Sulla,* 14.7.
[49] Morris and Powell 2006, 548

requests for contributions to Rome.[50] Athens' poor decision-making skills continued throughout the rest of the 1st century BCE as Rome was wracked by a series of brutal civil wars following Sulla's return to Italy. In the war against Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar, the Athenians sided with Pompey even though both men had gifted the city with 50 talents to restore its monuments.[51] Despite this, Julius Caesar spared the city and gifted the Athenians more money to begin construction of the Roman Agora, which would be built just east of the old one.[52]

The Athenians repaid this kindness by supporting Caesar's assassins, Brutus and Cassius, in their war against the joint forces of Mark Antony and Octavian.[53] The Athenians again erred when they supported Mark Antony over Octavian in the following war and it is this decision that is most vital for understanding the framework of the relationship between the Athenians and the first emperor. The Athenians did not just support Antony – they adored him and both he and his wife Octavia were honored as gods in Athens and Eleusis.[54] Furthermore, the Athenians honored Antony as the god Dionysus, allowed him to preside over the Greater Panathenaea while living in the city, and instituted the celebration of the Panathenaic Antoneia in his honor.[55] The most astounding and unprecedented honor off all, however, was the offering of Athena Polias as his bride.[56]

Despite all these honors, the Athenian relationship with Antony cooled quickly when the economic strain of the war took its toll on the city and when Antony officially divorced the

[50] Waterfield 2004, 252.
[51] Plutarch *Pompey,* 42.4-5.
[52] Waterfield 2004, 254.
[53] The Athenians went so far as to erect statues of the two near the Tyrannicides. Dio Cassius *Historiae Romanae,* 48.20.
[54] Clinton 1997, 165.
[55] Farrior 2016, 8-9.
[56] Dio Cassius *Historiae Romanae,* 48.39.2

extremely popular Octavia in favor of the Ptolemaic queen Cleopatra VII.[57] Still, after Octavian defeated Antony at Actium, the Athenians found themselves again in the unenviable position of having supported the losing side. Initially, rather than outright punishing the Athenians, Augustus, as Octavian was officially named by vote of the senate in 27 BCE, removed oligarchic features in Athens and gave them the privilege of issuing their own coins.[58]

Despite these acts of goodwill, Athenian discontent with the Romans and Augustus did not completely fade away and in 21 BCE, the statue of Athena on the Acropolis reportedly turned west and spat blood in response to a visit from Augustus.[59] This incident was perhaps one of several anti-Roman sentiments made by the Athenians during this tumultuous period of Augustus' reign and it seemed to have been a tipping point for the emperor – he cut his visit in Athens short and instituted a series of punishments on the city including the removal of Aegina and Eretria from Athenian control and the prohibition of selling Athenian citizenship.[60] All of these actions were major financial losses for the city and it was probably not long after that Augustus was extended numerous honors including the Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis, a permanent religious festival on his birthday in association with Apollo, and a priesthood along with some 17 altars to the emperor.[61]

The history of Hellenistic Athens is important because it shows that Athens followed a fairly consistent pattern – the Athenians supported whichever Hellenistic power was most likely to help them and they switched whenever a new one more consistent with Athenian interests appeared. At times this was Macedonia, at other times this was Egypt, and sometimes this was

[57] Dio Cassius *Historiae Romanae,* 50.3. Farrior 2016, 37-38.
[58] Farrior 2016, 43.
[59] Dio Cassius 54.7.1-3.
[60] Dio Cassius 54.7.
[61] Farrior 2016, 44.

Rome or a specific Roman. They gave similar honors to almost every person that held their favor but the very nature of these honors, like Athens' political support, was temporary - a newly dedicated tribe could be renamed, statues could be torn down, inscriptions could be re-carved, festivals or games could be repealed. When Octavian defeated Antony and brought all the Hellenistic rivalries and Roman civil wars to an end, however, the permanency of his leadership – and that of his successors – was established and Athens found itself in the position of needing to provide enduring honors for a permanent leadership. How the Athenians accomplished this will be discussed more fully in the following sections.

1.2 Athenian Religion in the Late Hellenistic and Early Imperial Period

It is important to first clarify that the term "Athenian religion" here is being used to denote state-level, public religion and that this section seeks to draw on the connection between Athenian public religion and its relationship with foreign powers in the Hellenistic and Early Imperial periods. Personal practices and those involving the family unit, although undoubtedly a significant part of religion and religious practice as a whole, are not discussed because of the nature of this research. It is also important to clarify that terms such as piety and religiousness are being used here to denote the way the Athenians wanted to be and were perceived by other *poleis* and are not necessarily meant to reflect on the personal and sincere beliefs of the Athenian people. Instead, they reflect the political and social nature of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as well as the performative nature of ancient Greek religion and spectacle, as discussed in the following section.

Athens, from as early as the 6th century BCE, was known for its piety – it was considered to have more festivals than any other *polis*, it had a strong presence in the Panhellenic cults, and it

controlled one of the most internationally renowned mystery cults.[62] This perceived devotedness to religion was highly regarded by other Greeks and foreigners, along with the city's historical and cultural prominence, and it played a huge role in Athens' later relationship with the Roman emperors.

Traditionally, much of Athenian religion was closely linked to its democracy through practices such as liturgy, in which wealthy citizens provided financial aid for religious festivals or other public works. Religious practices were also strongly linked to the demes which all originally had their own calendars and festivals.[63] These aspects of Athenian religion were in line with the performative nature of Athenian culture – a characterization which is shared between Athens and the other *poleis.*[64] There have been numerous theories to explain this performative aspect of Greek life but it seems most likely that the public performance of ritual was meant to embody and showcase the social dynamics of the city.[65] This public nature allows for an understanding of the social changes that took place when Athens transitioned from an independent *polis* to one that was increasingly dependent on the foreign benevolence of the powerful monarchs of the Hellenistic period, the leaders of the Roman Republic, and finally, the Roman emperors and the imperial families themselves.

This change first becomes apparent when Demetrius the Besieger abolished the use of liturgies in the early Hellenistic period.[66] After this, the festivals became funded primarily by private individuals and the publicly funded nature of Athenian religion greatly declined.[67]

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[62] Kelly 2010, 6.
[63] Parker 1996, 275.
[64] Kelly 2010, 32.
[65] Kelly 2010, 33.
[66] Parker 1996, 268.
[67] Parker 1996, 268.

Furthermore, donations from foreigners and new rulers became more common as the decline in the power of the demes was met with an increase of foreign influence.[68] Athenian religion began to reflect these changes by bestowing cultic honors onto these powerful figures in exchange for their benevolence. They also reflected these changes with an increasingly oligarchic nature to religious power throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[69] Another change that arose, in conjunction with the abolishment of the liturgies and the increasing influence of wealthy men, was a boom in non-citizen involvement with the cults which began to appear in the 3rd century BCE.[70]

These changes do not mean that the traditionally most important cults waned – the Eleusinian Mysteries continued to flourish and the Panathenaea remained a central part of Athenian religion, for example – nor does it mean that places under the control of Athens, such as Delos in the 2nd century BCE, lost their traditional cultic significance.[71] Many other festivals, however, did disappear from the records and new cults arose.[72] Some of these cults had already existed, such as Zeus Soter, Athena Soteira, Aphrodite Pandemos, Asclepius, and the Charites, but grew in popularity.[73] Other cults that arose were distinctly influenced by foreign powers; of these, the arrival of ruler cults and their subsequent transition into the Imperial cult are the most important for this discussion.

Another change was the decline of hero-cults which began in the third century BCE in conjunction with the disappearance of the deme calendars and the overall decline in their

[68] Grijalvo 2005, 258.
[69] Grijalvo 2005, 258.
[70] Parker 1996, 266.
[71] Kelly 2010, 106.
[72] Parker 1996, 272.
[73] Parker 1996, 272.

importance.[74] What began to appear, however, were cults made in honor of foreign rulers who either held control of or provided aid to Athens. An important aspect of these cults that differed significantly from hero-cults – besides the fact that they were bestowed upon foreign rulers – was that these cults honored living men; this did not occur in Athens before the Hellenistic period.[75] These new honors did not seem to stir up any controversy when they were added to the festival cycle, but their inclusion still indicates a significant change in Athenian religion.[76] For perhaps the first time in Athens, cultic honors – albeit undoubtedly perfunctory at times and, for the vast majority, temporary – were given to living, foreign rulers, a change that is indicative of the shifting political landscape of Athens.

The purpose of these ruler cults was to showcase gratitude and also to ensure that the benevolence of the ruler would continue.[77] Arguably, they were meant to be more of an honor for the person rather than anything truly religious. Nevertheless, they were often religious in nature and considered a legitimate part of Athenian religion. By nature, these cults were temporary – as stated before, the Athenians honored whichever power was in charge of the Greek lands or whichever was willing to champion Athenian ideals. When that power fell or went out of Athenian favor, the worship often stopped and new cults were implemented for the next ruler. For similar reasons, the honors were often the same or similar in nature to the earlier ones– a festival or games in honor of a benefactor, a tribe added or renamed for a ruler, an altar, a priesthood, and a sacrifice, or a combination of them.[78].

[74] Parker 1996, 275.
[75] Parker 1996, 256-7.
[76] Parker 1996, 263.
[77] Farrior 2016, 26.
[78] Farrior 2016, 28-30.

As discussed in the previous section, several Hellenistic rulers received such worship. Alexander the Great was the first, followed by Demetrius the Besieger, and his father Antigonus.[79] These honors were abused by Demetrius who supposedly moved into the Parthenon and hosted a series of orgies within it. Regardless of these supposed infractions, honors continued to be given to the Antigonid dynasty for the thirty years that Macedonian forces remained in Attica. After Eurykleides and Mikion freed the *polis* from the Macedonians, however, Athens turned to the Ptolemaic dynasty and honors were quickly established for the Egyptian rulers. Once the Ptolemaic dynasty was no longer able to help the Athenians, honors went to Attalos I as well as to the Romans.

An issue with honoring the Romans during the Republic that did occur during the time of the Hellenistic kingdoms, was that there were many prominent leaders, rather than just one ruler to whom all honors could be given. This does not mean that no Romans received honors in their own right – Titus Quinctius Flamininus was the first Roman to be worshipped in the Greek cities followed by several other prominent generals– but more often, the goddess Roma was worshipped as a representation of the Roman Republic.[80] In Athens, the worship of Roma began at the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 2nd century BCE, around the time that the Athenians requested Roman help against the Macedonians and she continued to be worshipped even while different individual Romans received and lost honors in the city.[81]

[79] There are some accounts that Philip took efforts to make himself seem "god-like," but there does not seem to have been any cult attached. Alexander the Great himself, was first given divine honors in the Greek cities of Asia Minor, most likely due to influence from Eastern traditions, which then moved into the mainland. This is likely the origin of this type of ruler cult. For more information on this, see. Badian 1996, 11-26.
[80] Farrior 2016, 31.
[81] Farrior 2016, 37.

Along with the goddess Roma, Sulla was worshipped briefly after he sacked the city – likely in an attempt to appease the Romans after the Mithridatic War.[82] This type of appeasement would prove common as Athens consistently chose the wrong side throughout Rome's brutal civil wars and would eventually culminate in the unprecedented honors given to Augustus during his reign. During the war between Julius Caesar and Pompey, the Athenians chose Pompey and gave him honors.[83] Following Pompey's death, the Athenians quickly gave begrudging honors to the victorious Julius Caesar. Very soon after his death, however, they erected statues of two of his assassins, Brutus and Cassius, in the Agora near the statues of the venerated Tyrannicides.[84] When they were defeated, the Athenians lavished both Mark Antony and Octavia with divine honors that were unprecedented at the time.

The Athenians honored Mark Antony as the new-coming Dionysus and they associated Octavia with Athena – as such, a festival was named in honor of Mark Antony, he was allowed to preside over the Panathenaea, and Athena Polias was presented to him as a bride.[85] These honors were both highly unusual and a testament to the extreme popularity of Mark Antony and Octavia. Even in this case, however, no permanent honors were given – rulers cults, even during the late Republic, continued to be temporary by nature. This all, however, radically changed when Octavian defeated Mark Antony at Actium and brought the decades of civil wars to their end. The end of the Republic and the institution of the Empire brought stability to both the Italian peninsula and the Greek city-states, which had for many years been the battleground for both Hellenistic monarchs and Roman generals.

[82] Farrior 2016, 34.
[83] Morris and Powell 2006, 550.
[84] Dio Cassius 48.20.
[85] Farrior 2016, 37.

This stability meant that there were no longer multiple leaders who could ply their benevolence to the Athenians, nor were their multiple sides for the Athenians to choose from. There was only Octavian, soon to be named Augustus, the man whom the Athenians had chosen not to support even when Mark Antony divorced Octavia and sided with Cleopatra. Nevertheless, honors had to be given to the new emperor and it is likely that some were awarded to him shortly after he came to power. Discontent, however, was still an issue in Athens during the beginning of Augustus' reign and it seems to have reared up around 22 BCE, roughly contemporaneous with issues in Rome that included a failed assassination attempt. This discontent was probably spurred on, at least in part, by a belief that Augustus' reign would be like others before him – impermanent.[86]

Augustus' response, as mentioned earlier, was punishing and the Athenians found themselves in the unenviable position of having to once again appease a ruler. The normal honors, designed for temporary rulers in keeping with the now long tradition of ruler cults, would no longer suffice for someone who had proved himself to be a more permanent fixture in Athens. The impermanent nature of ruler cults had to be adapted and it is at this point that the Hellenistic tradition in Athens gave way to the Imperial cult. The Imperial cult was, in essence, very similar to the ruler cults but it was focused on a sole ruler and, rather than temporary honors that could be taken away or re-purposed when needed, it gave permanent honors. Augustus, along with Roma who, despite being continuously worshipped in Athens since her introduction, had not been given a permanent cult place, was given a temple on the Acropolis - the first permanent building to the Imperial cult in Athens.[87] The significance of this temple and others

[86] For more on the assassination attempt see Waterfield 2004, 252-253.
[87] Farrior 2016, 24.

related to the Augustan era in Athens will be discussed fully in the coming sections, but it is important to note here that the adoption of the Imperial cult, in honor of Augustus, is one of the clearest signs of Romanization in Athens.[88]

Athenian religion in the late Hellenistic period and the early Imperial period was largely influenced by the contemporary political landscape and this is no more clearly evident than with the adoption of the ruler cults and their subsequent transformation into the Imperial cult. The acknowledgment of Augustus's permanent status in Athenian religion through the erection of a temple would have a profound effect on Athens' relationship to the Empire. This is apparent through the relatively benevolent relationships that the *polis* had with most of the subsequent Roman emperors. Alongside the Imperial cult, the honors bestowed to gods whose Roman equivalents were important to Augustus, such as Ares and Aphrodite, also indicate both an Athenian desire to please the emperor and a kind of Romanization of Athenian religion. As part of this, both were honored with permanent buildings in Athens during the Augustan period and will be discussed in the following sections.

1.3 The Acropolis

The Acropolis, unlike other areas within the city, remained largely untouched by Augustus and the subsequent emperors. The only architectural addition to the Acropolis under the Empire was the construction of a small, round temple east of the Parthenon. This temple, whose foundations were first discovered in the nineteenth century, was the first and only monument to the Imperial cult on the Acropolis. As such, its importance for understanding the potential Romanization of Attic ritual space is high and it will be the focus of this section.

[88] Spawforth 1997, 184.

Before an in-depth discussion of the structure can be made, it is important to mention that the identification of it as a temple is debated. The lack of any remains of an altar or cult statues has led several scholars to doubt its identification as a temple. This is compounded by the fact that, as discussed below, there were no temples to the emperor or the goddess Roma prior to the construction of the monopteros on the Acropolis. There are, instead, two other theories about the building which will be briefly mentioned here. The first is that the building may have simply been an honorific monument to the emperor.[89] This type of monument was not uncommon in Hellenistic Athens and it is plausible that the building on the Acropolis followed the tradition of erecting public monuments to prominent leaders.

However, the dedicatory inscription of the building, which ran along the architrave and is translated and discussed below, explicitly states that the building was dedicated to the goddess Roma and Augustus, in the time that Pammenes was the priest of the joint cult of Roma and Augustus the Savior on the Acropolis. This strongly suggests that the building had a religious nature and was not simply a monument erected to honor the current leader controlling Athens.

Another competing theory about the building suggests that it is the frame of an altar to the emperor and the goddess, rather than a temple.[90] This theory is based on the absence of any evidence for a roof, cella walls, remains of cult statues or bases and the relatively small size of the structure.[91] Round altars, although not the most common form, are not unheard of in the Mediterranean world and the imperial cult was not always worshipped with a temple, as evidenced by the multitude of altars to Augustus found throughout Athens.[92]

[89] Morales 2016, 143-144. In *Imperial Identities in the Roman World.*
[90] Camp 2001, 188.
[91] Camp 2001, 188.
[92] Camp 2001, 188.

This theory, although more probable than the building simply being an honorary monument, has several issues. First, the decoration of the building's columns directly recall the columns of the Erechtheion, one of the most sacred temples in Athens. The significance of this is discussed below, but it is important to mention now as it seems unlikely that such a connection would be made between a temple and an altar. Second, and more importantly, no evidence for an altar or the foundations of an altar were found inside the structure's colonnade. This lack of evidence for any altar inside the colonnade, combined with the clear decorative similarities between the building and the Erechtheion means that, although it is still plausible that the building was originally an altar, it is more likely to have been a small temple.

The exact date of the temple is not known, but it can be placed in the early Augustan period, sometime between 27 BCE and 5 CE, due to its dedicatory inscription which reads:

> [ὁ] δῆμος θεᾶι Ῥώμηι καί Σε[βασ]τ]ῶι
> Καίσαρι στρα[τηγ]οῦντος ἐπὶ τ[οὺς]
> ὁπλίτας Παμμένους τοῦ Ζήνωνος
> Μαραθωνίου ἱερέως θεᾶσ
> Ῥώμης καὶ Σεβαστοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπ'
> ἀκροπόλει, ἐπὶ ἱερείας Ἀθηνᾶσ
> Πολιάδος Μεγίστης τῆσ Ἀσκληπίδου
> Ἀλαιέως θυγατρός,
> ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀρήου τ[οῦ] Δωρίωνος
> Παιανιέως (Figure 1)[93]
>
> The people [dedicated this temple] to the goddess Roma ad Augustus Caesar when Pammenes, son of Zenon of Marathon, was general of the hoplites and priest of the goddess Roma and Augustus the Savior on the Acropolis, when Megiste, daughter of

[93] IGII^2 3173.

> Asklepiades of Halai, was the priestess of Athena Polias, and when Araios, son of Dorion of Paianaia, was *archon*.[94]

The use of the name *Sebastos* indicates that the temple could not have been dedicated before 27 BCE, when Octavian received the title Augustus from the Senate, and the naming of Pammenes as general of the hoplites and the priest of Roma and Augustus the Savior means that it must have been dedicated before 5 CE, the year in which Pammenes died.[95] The temple could not have been dedicated between 17-11 BCE, as Araios was not *archon* then, and it is more likely that the temple was built before 17 BCE and not after 11 BCE, when there would have been less need for the Athenians to appease the emperor.[96] Furthermore, it is likely that the small temple was built, at least partially, in response to Augustus's visit to Athens around 21 BCE and that it was completed in time for his next visit in 19 BCE.[97] Thus, the temple was most likely approved and erected between 21-19 BCE, as a direct response to the emperor and his visit.[98]

The reasons for the construction of the temple are multifaceted and are discussed in depth in this section. Firstly, however, the physical remains and exact location of the temple on the Acropolis must be discussed. The temple was built on the eastern side of the Acropolis, in front of the Parthenon (Figure 2). The placement of the shrine itself is significant as prior to its building, the eastern end had been kept mostly free of large architectural monuments to allow an unobstructed view of the Parthenon.[99] Furthermore, in Roman fashion, the temple was axially aligned with the eastern entrance of the Parthenon.[100] The location of the temple, on the eastern side and aligned with the main entrance to the Parthenon was almost certainly a deliberate effort

[94] Translation by author.
[95] Farrior 2016, 21
[96] Farrior 2016, 20-21. Leslie Caroline Kelly also dates the temple to between 27-18 BCE in her dissertation.
[97] Farrior 2016, 20-21.
[98] Some scholars do favor a later date. Helené Whittaker argues for a date of 2 BCE. Whittaker 2002, 36.
[99] Farrior 2016, 11
[100] Spawforth 2006, 144; Iliou 2014, 35.

to connect the new temple with the old one as well as to tie its cult to the center of Athenian political and religious life.[101]

The temple foundations were set on unlevel ground and consisted of two courses, approximately the same size, with the lower lying on bedrock while the upper was sat on rubble.[102] The foundations are primarily made from a coarse limestone from the Peloponnese, but there is at least one block reused from the Erechtheion.[103] The foundations were not secured with any clamps which suggests a quick, non-precise construction.[104] Roughly sixty-four pieces of the superstructure have been found on the Acropolis, mostly in front of the Parthenon, and they all are made from local Pentelic marble.[105] These pieces, along with the intact foundations, allow for a decent reconstruction of the temple. It was round, about eight meters in both height and diameter with three marble steps for the stylobate and nine Ionic columns going around it (Figure 3).[106]

The columns were placed unevenly with a larger space directly underneath the dedicatory inscription. The capitals of the columns were modeled after the eastern porch of the Erechtheion but are of noticeably lesser quality (Figures 4-5).[107] The inscription of the temple was carved into the architrave in a pseudo-Stoichedon style which indicates a desire for the temple to appear

[101] Iliou 2014, 35.
[102] Farrior 2016, 12. The remains of the temple were first found during the 1885-1890 excavations of Panayiotis Kavvadias, W. Dörpfeld, and G. Kawerau. Hurwit 1999, 299.
[103] The block in the foundations combined with the similar construction of the foundations with the restored foundations of the western cross wall of the Erechtheion makes it likely that the temple was built at or around the same time as the Erechtheion reconstruction. Farrior. 2016. 12-13. Travlos also makes a similar claim. Travlos 1971, 404.
[104] Farrior 2016, 13.
[105] Farrior 2016, 14.
[106] Farrior 2016, 11, 14.
[107] Farrior 2016, 15. See figures 4 and 5 for comparison of the capitals.

older than its actual date.[108] There is no evidence of internal walls for a cella and it is likely that the temple did not have any (Figure 6).[109] Although no pieces survive, it is likely that statues of Roma and Augustus stood in the center, able to be seen from the outside through the gaps between the columns.[110]

The appearance of the structure is just as significant as its placement. Round temples were rare in Athens and the Temple of Roma and Augustus was the first to be built in over three hundred years.[111] Why the Athenians broke from tradition to build the Temple of Roma and Augustus is a central question for scholars studying the temple. One theory scholars have put forth is that the temple was designed in the fashion of the Philippeion at Olympia.[112] Proponents of this theory argue that the Philippeion, erected in honor of Philip II's victory at the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 BCE, established the tholos as the appropriate form for celebrating foreign rulers.[113] They also suggest that this form later turned into an appropriate form to house the Imperial cult.[114] There was a tholos dedicated to the Imperial cult at Elis, as mentioned by Pausanias, which seems to support this theory.[115]

A problem with this theory, however, is that it implies that the round form was the most appropriate for Imperial cult as a logical continuation from the buildings erected to honor foreign rulers in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. If that was the case, one would expect the

[108] Iliou 2014, 34. Pseudo-stoichedon was an inscription style used throughout the Augustan period that was meant to imitate older inscriptions. Stoichedon was a style of inscription that originated in the archaic period and was popular throughout the classical period, particularly in Athens. It was a style in which the letters aligned both vertically and horizontally, spaced equally apart. Woodhead 1992, 29-30.
[109] Farrior 2016, 11.
[110] Farrior 2016, 11.
[111] Rose 2005, 50.
[112] Farrior 2016, 56.
[113] Whittaker 2002, 26.
[114] Whittaker 2002, 26.
[115] Whittaker 2002, 26. Pausanias 6.24.10. To date, this temple, which reportedly stood in the Elean agora, has not been found. Evangelidis 2014, 136.

round form to be the standard for all Imperial cult temples throughout the Greek world but the archaeological evidence does not support this. In fact, there seems to be no specific architectural form connected to the Imperial cult; it appears in round temples, prostyle temples, temene, and inside rooms of larger complexes.[116] Therefore, although it is certainly possible that the Athenians chose to build a round temple, in part, because of the Philippeion and the use of round temples for ruler cults, it is unlikely to be the sole reason.

Other theories, rather than looking inward at the Greek cities, turn westward for the possible inspiration for the form of the temple. Some scholars have suggested that the Temple of Roma and Augustus was inspired by the round Temple of Vesta in the Roman Forum.[117] The cult of Vesta, along with the Vestal Virgins, was one of the most important cults for the Roman state and the idea that it might have been linked to the Acropolis, which was home to some of the most important cults of Athenian religion, through this temple is certainly plausible. This theory is also supported by an inscription on a seat in the Theater of Dionysus which mentions a priestess of the cults of Hestia, Livia, and Julia on the Acropolis.[118]

There are, however, several issues to consider with this theory. One is that it is not currently known when the cult of Hestia appeared on the Acropolis.[119] The question of whether she was worshipped on the Acropolis before the construction of the Temple of Roma and Augustus or if she was added later, in conjunction with Livia and Julia presumably sometime

[116] Evangelidis 2014, 139-140.
[117] First suggested by Paul Graindor and then supported by Ronald Mellor. Whittaker 2002, 34. Tradition attributes the foundation of the temple to Numa or sometimes Romulus and presumably there was a temple to house the sacred objects of Vesta by 390 BCE, when the city was sacked by Gauls. The temple has a long literary history of being destroyed and rebuilt and the foundations that remain date between the Augustan period and the final restoration by Julia Domna in 191 CE. Richardson 1992, 412-413. For more information on the 390 BCE attack on the city, see Livy 5.40.
[118] The inscription states that the seat is for a priestess of Hestia on the Acropolis and Livia and Julia. IG II^2 5097.
[119] Whittaker 2002, 36.

before Julia's banishment in 2 BCE, is an important one. If she was worshipped on the Acropolis before the construction of the temple, then it would be likely that any attributes of Vesta would have been added to her cult place, rather than that of Roma and Augustus.

Another issue to address with the theory is why Vesta or Hestia would be associated with the cult of Roma or the Imperial cult on the Acropolis in the first place. Augustus was known – or at least presented himself as – a highly religious man devoted to restoring traditional cults and his appointment to *Pontifex Maximus* in 12 BCE was a high honor that he was undoubtedly eager to propagate.[120] Therefore, it is certainly plausible that the Athenians would seek to honor the emperor by creating a physical link between the emperor and Rome's most important cult.[121] The issue at hand, then, is a matter of dating. If the Athenians meant for the temple to be a reminder of this connection, it must have been built after 11 BCE, when Augustus was already Pontifex Maximus and when Araios could have served as *archon*. As argued previously, however, the temple was most likely built earlier to coincide with Augustus's visit to Athens in 19 BCE. Therefore, although it is certainly possible that the temple had a round shape to connect it with the Temple of Vesta, it is a rather tenuous explanation for such a rare shape.

The last theory to mention is that the round form of the temple was made to mimic a temple of Mars Ultor built on the Capitoline.[122] The suggestion of this temple's existence is based on a passage of Dio Cassius in which the ancient author states that Augustus ordered a shrine for Mars Ultor, in imitation of the shrine to Jupiter Feretrius, be placed on the Capitoline

[120] Augustus listed being Pontifex Maximus as one of his achievements on the *Res Gestae*. He also established a shrine to Vesta within his house on the Palatine after receiving the priesthood. Whittaker 2002, 34.
[121] Whittaker argues that the Athenians drew a connection between the Temple of Roma and Augustus and the Temple of Vesta because of Augustus' appointment and supports this argument by showcasing the importance Augustus himself put on this priesthood. Whittaker 2002, 34.
[122] Rose 2005, 22.

to house the standards recovered from the Parthians.[123] There are, however, immediate issues that have to be addressed with this theory. The first is that the temple, according to Dio Cassius, was meant to be the "imitation of Jupiter Feretrius."[124] The cult of Jupiter Feretrius was considered ancient even to the Romans, who credited Romulus with the god's first sacred precinct and its first dedications.[125] After this mythic-historical beginning, spoils of war were dedicated to the temple only two other times in the *spolia opima* ritual, and it is recorded in the *Res Gestae* that the temple itself was one of the ones restored by Augustus.[126] The problem here, then, is that the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius was square and it is strange that a round temple would be built in its "imitation." The theory is further cast into doubt by the fact that the original temple was newly renovated and the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Augustan Forum had already been promised.

Another major issue is that there is no physical evidence for a temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitoline and it is highly unlikely that one ever existed.[127] Excluding Dio Cassius's passage, there are no ancient references to a shrine of Mars Ultor on the Capitoline and Dio Cassius himself, in a different passage, places the standards inside the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus – where evidence shows they actually were held - and not on the Capitoline Hill at all.[128] Furthermore, in Augustus's *Res Gestae,* which mentions the restoration of the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, the construction of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus, the dedication of the Parthian standards inside of it, and the restoration or construction of numerous other temples and shrines, there is no mention of a second temple of Mars Ultor on

[123] Dio Cassius 54.8.3.
[124] Dio Cassius 54.8.3.
[125] The dedications were the weapons of the leader of the opposing army, as described by Livy. Springer 1954, 28.
[126] Springer 1954, 29. Goldsworthy 2014, 227.
[127] Simpson 1993, 120.
[128] Simpson 1993, 121-122.

the Capitoline.[129] All these facts combined make it incredibly unlikely that there was ever a temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitoline, let alone a round one that the Temple of Roma and Augustus could have been modeled after.

Despite the implausibility of a round temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitoline, there is some evidence of a round temple of Mars Ultor elsewhere in the Empire. This evidence takes the form of coins minted, both in Pergamon and in Spain, with a round temple ascribed to Mars Ultor on the reverse (Figures 7-8).[130] The coin from Pergamon, a *cistophoros* minted in 19 BCE, depicts a bare headed Augustus on the obverse and a round, conically-roofed, high-based temple with "MART-VLTO" written around it and a single standard depicted in the center on the reverse.[131] This coin was minted in the same year as a *cistophoros* with the Temple of Roma and Augustus from Pergamon on the reverse and another *cistorphoros* with Augustus's triumphal arch on the reverse (Figures 9-10).[132] These coins were minted just a year after the return of the Parthian standards and they were most likely meant to be seen as a commemoration of the Roman victory over the Parthians.[133]

The Spanish coin, minted at one of the two Imperial Spanish mints, depicts Augustus on the obverse and a round, high-based temple with "MAR-VLT" written around it and several standards depicted inside (Figure 11).[134] This one, much like the Pergamon coin, was minted at the same time as other coins commemorating the victory over the Parthians.[135] They were minted almost contemporaneously with the Pergamon coins, dating to around 18-17 BCE, just a few

[129] *Res Gestae* 19.
[130] Rose 2005, 51-52.
[131] Sydenham 1920, 32-33.
[132] Sydenham 1920, 33.
[133] Rose 2005, 24.
[134] Rose 2005, 23-24. Figure 11.
[135] Sutherland 1945, 61-66.

years after the return of the standards.[136] These coins, although they do not prove the presence of a round temple to Mars Ultor on the Capitoline, do indicate that a round temple of Mars Ultor, associated with the return of the standards, had entered the iconographical lexicon of the Roman provinces around the same time that the Temple of Roma and Augustus was constructed in Athens. Therefore, it is possible that the Athenians were already familiar with the iconography associated with the return of the standards when they decided on a round form for their temple.

The idea that these coins, commemorating the return of the Parthian standards, might have played a role in the building plans for the Temple of Roma and Augustus is partially based on why the Athenians decided to build the temple in the first place, is addressed below. As stated earlier, the relationship between Athens and Augustus at the time of his visit in 21 BCE seems to have been fraught and the Athenians were undoubtedly eager to see a return of his favor. At the same time as the incident in Athens, Rome itself was undergoing serious difficulties – a conspiracy to assassinate Augustus had been discovered and dealt with in 22 BCE, floods and a deadly illness had spread throughout the city in 22 and 21 BCE which had claimed the life of the young Marcellus, and bad harvests had caused severe grain shortages that Augustus had mitigated with his own private shares.[137]

These troubles had manifested in civil unrest in 21 and 20 BCE, around the same time as the Athenian discontent with Augustus, and it was a turbulent time in the Augustan period. It is also around this time, however, that Augustus achieved one of the most highlighted successes of his reign – the return of the Roman standards and hostages from Parthia.[138] These standards had been taken after the disastrous Roman defeat at Carrhae in 53 BCE. Their subsequent return at

[136] Rose 2005, 23.
[137] Goldsworthy 2014, 280-281; 301-303.
[138] Goldsworthy 2014, 303.

the hand of Augustus, as well as Tiberius whom Augustus had sent to Armenia at the head of the military forces, in 20 BCE, was celebrated as a significant victory over a long-time enemy.[139] This victory, although diplomatic in reality, was heralded as a great military achievement wherein a great enemy – Phraates IV – bowed down to the might of the Roman Empire.[140]

This triumph over the Parthians was propagated heavily by the Romans and the emperor himself as comparable to the great Greek victories over the Persian Empire in the 5th century BCE.[141] In both cases, the 'civilized' culture – the Greeks for the Persian Wars and the Romans for the Parthian Wars – was seen as triumphing over the more 'barbaric' East. The association also served to connect the return of the standards – primarily a political and diplomatic victory rather than one accomplished by superior military might – with one of the most important military victories of the Greek city-states. Furthermore, it allowed the Romans themselves to capitalize on one of the most culturally significant episodes of Hellenic history.

It is within this primarily Roman framework and understanding of the return of the standards that the Athenians built the Temple of Roma and Augustus. Therefore the reasons for the temple must be addressed through the lens of a very particular kind of Romanization – one that is definitely a Roman influence but created within the already-constructed confines of Athenian and Hellenic cultural history. The temple was most likely built to commemorate the return of the standards in a form that had already been approved by the emperor, as evidenced by the appearance of the round temple of Mars Ultor on the Pergamon and Spanish coins. The temple, at the same time, was constructed to regain the favor of Augustus by honoring a victory that he himself considered, at least publicly, as one of his most significant achievements and it

[139] Goldsworthy 2014, 301-303.
[140] Goldsworthy 2014, 303.
[141] Farrior 2016, 53.

was done so as quickly as possible so that it was possible for Augustus to see the temple during his visit in 19 BCE. The temple was designed to fit into the propagandistic framework that had already been established by the emperor.

The placement of the temple, on the Acropolis just east of the Parthenon, linked Augustus's victory over the Parthians concretely to the victories of the Athenians over the Persians, a connection that had originated in Rome.[142] The use of Pentelic marble, the same material that had been used for the Parthenon and most of the rest of the Periclean building program, was probably meant to make the new temple fit in with the old buildings – to make it seem as part of the same. The similarity between the Ionic capitals of the Temple of Roma and Augustus and those on the eastern porch of the Erechtheion was undoubtedly another attempt to connect the new temple with the rest of the building program. The fact that they imitated elements of the Erechtheion over the Parthenon was most likely due to both the fact that the Erechtheion housed the most important cult on the Acropolis and because the temple itself was undergoing renovations at the same time as the construction of the Temple of Roma. Thus, Augustus and the workers were likely more familiar with the designs of the temple.

The intention of the temple, furthermore, was meant to tie Augustus and Rome both into the glorified history of Athens. Augustus, who must have first appeared to be just another Roman leader with temporary control, had managed to achieve permanent control of both Rome and the provinces and his success over both the 22 BCE assassination plot and over the Parthians in 20 BCE must have further cemented his permanence in the minds of the Athenians. This must have been especially noticeable at a time when at least some of the Athenians were engaging in anti-

[142] Whittaker 2002, 36.

Augustan or anti-Roman sentiments. This permanence meant that Augustus had to be honored in a way that was different than other foreign rulers in the past had been and his victory over the Parthians, an eastern enemy, and his subsequent propagandistic approach to it provided the perfect context for the Athenians to celebrate him.

The Athenians erected the first permanent temple to a living, foreign ruler on the very Acropolis where they had built monuments to their own past. A temple, once dedicated, is not as easily taken down as an inscription or a statue – the building of it provides an intendedly permanent home for the goddess Roma and Augustus. Roma herself was a goddess whose worship in the East seems to have originated in the impermanent nature of Roman leaders during the Republic and it is notable that before her connection to Augustus – one that the emperor himself spread with his refusal to be worshipped separately from her – there were very few temples to her and none at all on mainland Greece until the Athenian temple.[143] The Athenians, then, did not give permanence just to Augustus – the first Roman they honored in such a way – but also to the goddess who personified the Roman state itself.

The Temple of Roma and Augustus is a vital structure for understanding the Romanization of Athens that took place under the first emperor for many reasons. First, the temple was built by the Athenians themselves, not by Romans or other foreign people, and it was constructed on behalf of Athenian interests rather than Roman – namely to appease Augustus and honor him as an acknowledged, permanent ruler over Athens. Secondly, the temple was built in a style familiar to the Athenians accustomed to viewing the astounding buildings of the 5th century

[143] Farrior 2016, 33

BCE – it was designed not to disrupt the carefully constructed cultural history of the Athenian Acropolis but to blend into it and to tie the new Roman Empire with the democratic past.

Lastly, and most importantly for the discussion of Romanization in Athens, the temple was constructed to celebrate a Roman victory and it was done so in what was, in reality, a Roman framework. The temple was undoubtedly classicized to fit into the Classical building program that dominated the Acropolis but it was also classicized to fit in with the Augustan building program and, more importantly, to perpetuate the Roman-created connection between the Parthians and the Persians. Augustus had propagated himself as one who was restoring both the Republic and peace and he had often used a Classical Greek – mostly derived from Athenian work – style to perpetuate this idea. He also propagated the connection between Rome's eastern enemy and Greece's and it was on this particular piece of propaganda that the Athenians hoped to capitalize when they built mainland Greece's first Temple to Roma and the Imperial cult in the midst of their own glorious past.

1.4 Conclusions

As has been shown, Athens had a unique history and religious reputation that affected the way they were incorporated into the Roman Empire. Their cultural heritage and religious prestige meant that they earned the respect and admiration of the Romans, even while they continuously chose the loosing side in Rome's various conflicts. This unique standing did not, however, completely save them from the anger of the emperor following the civil unrest of 21-20 BCE and the Athenians found themselves in the position of having to regain Augustus' favor. They did this by building the Temple of Roma and Augustus, the first temple to be built on the Acropolis since the Classical period and the very first permanent structure to be dedicated to the goddess Roma and the Imperial cult.

This temple is a clear example of Romanization, but a type of Romanization that is unique to Athens. The temple was built on the Acropolis, in the Classical Athenian style, in part to ensure that it fit in with its surroundings and hearkened back to Athens' golden past. Mostly, however, it was designed to fit the propagandistic message Augustus and the Romans created, placed on the Acropolis to tie the new emperor into the glorious history of Athens, and ultimately to please the emperor. In this way, the Athenians built the temple using a primarily Roman framework that honored and engaged with their own past and cultural heritage as well.

The Acropolis – the most religiously important areas in all of Athens – was given a permanent Roman addition, the first and only building to be dedicated to the Imperial cult on it, but it was not the only culturally significant place in which Roman influence was exerted throughout the city. The agora, one of the most important and quintessentially democratic areas in Athens, also underwent some significant changes in the Augustan period, primarily at the behest of the Romans themselves, rather than the Athenians, and it is to this area that the next chapter of this thesis turns.

Chapter 2: Athens II: The Agora

2.1.Introduction

The Agora, unlike the Acropolis, underwent several major architectural changes in the Augustan period. What had once been an open area, dotted with small shrines and monuments and used as an assembly place for democratic citizens, became closed up with monumental buildings placed in the center.[144] This transition began in the late Hellenistic period when the Agora began to become more closed off with the addition of the Middle Stoa, the Stoa of Attalos, and the rebuilding of the Metroon, all in the 2nd century BCE.[145] These buildings, along with the already built Royal Stoa, Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, and the Poikile Stoa, closed off all the sides of the Agora.[146] It was not until the Roman period, however, that the central area of the Agora itself began to be filled in with buildings and it is this period this section explores.

There was not much large-scale building in Athens during the early Roman period because the Macedonian and Roman civil wars took a heavy economic toll on the city, but the Augustan period brought a profound change to the ancient space. One of the most impactful changes to the space was the construction of a new Agora to the east of the old one, begun with money from Julius Caesar and finished under Augustus, which rendered the openness of the old one obsolete.[147] The Roman Agora made it possible for a monumental building program to happen in the ancient Agora. As part of this initiative, around the same time as the construction of the new Agora, the Odeion of Agrippa and the Temple of Ares were built in the center of the old one.[148] These additions were joined by the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania in the northwestern corner, the

[144] Evangelidis 2014, 337-8.
[145] Camp 2009, 179.
[146] Camp 2009, 179-180.
[147] Camp 2009, 184.
[148] Camp 2009, 184.

Southwest temple, two annexes added to the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, and the Southeast temple, all of which were built in the Augustan or early Tiberian periods.[149] Of these last buildings, the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania is discussed in a later section.

2.2 The Odeion of Agrippa

The Odeion of Agrippa, also known as the Agrippeion, was a musical hall rather than a religious building, and as such, will not be a focus of attention. Nevertheless, a brief description is necessary for understanding the Augustan phase of the Agora. It was built in the direct center of the Agora, along the north side of the Middle Stoa, which completely broke up the traditional openness of the space.[150] The exact date of construction is not known but it was likely built to coincide with Marcus Agrippa's – for whom it was named - visit to Athens between 16 and 14 BCE and completed before his death two years later.[151] The Odeion was exceptionally large and was able to hold around a thousand people.[152] The orchestra, semicircular in shape, was paved with marble and the face of the stage was adorned richly with sculpture while the outside of the building was decorated with Corinthian columns and had several statues placed around.[153]

The Odeion stood several stories high, towering over the other buildings of the old Agora, and it must have been seen, even to the ancient Athenians, as a Roman building placed in the center of what had been a traditionally very Greek space. Therefore, it must have served both as a visceral reminder of the new regime and as a testament of what wealth the Romans could bring to the city, since the Odeion was very much a gift to the Athenian people. The building was most

[149] Evangelidis 2014, 127. Walker 1997, 71.
[150] Camp 2009, 184.
[151] Camp 2009, 184.
[152] Camp 2009, 184. The size of the odeion ensured that it could hold a massive crowd drawn to the various musical activities and poetry readings popular at the time.
[153] Camp 2009, 184.

likely funded by Agrippa and it is at least possible that it was built by architects accustomed to Roman ideas, be they Romans brought in for this purpose or local Athenians familiar with Roman style.[154]

The most Roman aspect of the building is that it is built in almost equal axial alignment with the Temple of Ares, which was more common in Roman architectural design than it was in Greek.[155] The connections between the Odeion and the Temple of Ares do not stop with the axial alignment, as evidence suggests the temple was placed in the Agora shortly after the construction of the Odeion, and the altar of Ares was placed in front of them as the focal point of both buildings.[156] As the Odeion and the temple seem to be connected, it is important to turn to the temple itself next.

2.3 The Temple of Ares

The Temple of Ares was the second largest building constructed in the Agora during the Augustan period and its importance to the discussion of Romanization in Athens is rather obvious. It has often been cited as a prime example of classicizing in the city because it is a 5th century BCE temple that was moved from rural Attica and reconstructed in the Agora.[157] The Temple of Ares is not the only itinerant temple during the Augustan period but it is the most extreme case in which an entire temple was uprooted.[158] As such, it is important to first discuss the phenomenon of these itinerant temples in general before delving into the particular example of the Temple of Ares.

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[154] Evangelidis 2014, 127.
[155] Evangelidis 2014, 127. As mentioned in the previous chapter, strict axial alignment between buildings occurred much more often in Roman architecture than it did in traditional Greek.
[156] Spawforth 1996, 66
[157] Camp 2009, 184.
[158] Walker 1997, 72.

Transplanted or reused structures are a phenomenon unique to Athens. It has been argued that the practice was based on local Athenian custom with some connection, at least in regard to the Temple of Ares, to Rome.[159] The examples of these temples in the Agora, besides the Temple of Ares, include the reused columns from the Temple of Athena at Sounion in the Southeast temple and the reused columns from an unidentified building at Thorikos.[160] Several reasons for this practice have been put forth with much debate. One popular theory is that the temples and buildings had fallen in disrepair following a general decline in the rural population of Attica in the first century BCE.[161] This decline in rural population is evidenced throughout all of Greece during the early Imperial period, although the degree of it varies by region.[162] The decline of the rural population was traditionally thought of as part of the decline of the total population of Greece but it now seems more likely to be part of the nucleation of the *poleis*.[163] In Attica itself, this nucleation is evidenced by the general disappearance of rural sites.[164]

The movement of the rural community into Athens probably played a significant role in the deterioration or outright abandonment of rural shrines and sanctuaries alongside the destruction brought on by the wars of the 1st century BCE. There are, however, several issues that prevent it from completely explaining why the temples were moved or reused. One reason is that this decline in rural population, while more pronounced in the early Imperial period, had already begun in the Classical period, before any of the temples or pieces of temples were moved into the Agora.[165] Another reason is that, even with the decline and abandonment of rural areas in Attica,

[159] Walker 1997, 72.
[160] Walker 1997, 72.
[161] Walker 1997, 72.
[162] Alcock 1993, 96-98.
[163] Alcock 1993, 105.
[164] Such as those in the deme of Atene. Alcock 1993, 101.
[165] Alcock 1993, 96.

there is evidence for the restoration of rural sanctuaries under Augustus.[166] This suggests that, even if the movement of the Temple of Ares and the reuse of other temples was meant to conserve the buildings, conservation was unlikely the sole reason.

Although the Athenian practice of reusing materials stretches back well before Roman control – the reuse of building materials is well attested on the Acropolis for example – the movement of an entire temple and pieces of temples from their original home to a different city entirely is something unusual in the Greek world and there may, in fact, be a Roman influence at work in the itinerant temples. Ancient Greek tradition for sacred objects is that once something has been consecrated to a deity, it is expected to remain in that place forever as property of the deity.[167] As part of this custom, it was traditional to rebuild sacred buildings in the same or similar spot as they originally stood – a practice which can be seen on the Acropolis and throughout the Greek world – and it seems unlikely that the Athenians would have radically departed from this tradition without at least some outside influence.

The Romans, although they also rebuilt temples in the exact same spot as their predecessors in Rome itself, had vastly different traditions when it came to the sacred objects and places of other peoples. They practiced *evocatio* – a custom that entailed calling out to the gods that belonged to a place the Romans were going to attack, and then removing and reinstalling them after they defeated the people who worshipped them.[168] Therefore, unlike in the Greek world, the transplantation of sacred things was not considered an affront to the gods and, by engaging in this practice, it became part of Roman tradition to remove sacred objects, along with countless

[166] Walker 1997, 72. IG II^2 1035.
[167] Edwards 1997, 23-24.
[168] Edwards 1997, 24.

pieces of artwork and other spoils, from their place of origin during periods of war or conquest.[169]

Furthermore, the displacement of cultic items is often seen as an act meant to "disrupt or override local symbolic systems in the interest of a new political order."[170] It is not unreasonable, considering the context of the Augustan period, to suggest that the displacement of temples can be seen, in part, as an extreme form of this practice. This idea is strengthened by the fact that all the temples in which the old material was reused, and the Temple of Ares as a whole, had a connection to the Imperial cult or to Augustus, which is discussed more in length later.[171]

Having considered the phenomenon of itinerant temples as a whole, it is important now to return to the discussion of the Temple of Ares specifically. The temple itself dates to the 5th century BCE and it is similar to the Hephaisteion, as well as the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion. As such, some of the original reconstruction of the temple was based on these two buildings as well as the temple at Rhamnous, which is similar but markedly smaller (Figures 12-15).[172] The Temple of Ares was most similar in proportion to the Hephaisteion and it was originally a large Doric temple with a colonnade of 6x13.[173] The movement of the temple is dated broadly to the 1st century BCE because of pottery found in the packed layer underneath the foundations of the temple in the Agora.[174]

The dating can be further narrowed down by the presence of a drain, leading from the orchestra of the Odeion, which was adjusted to make room for the altar of the temple.[175] This

[169] Edwards 1997, 24.
[170] Alcock 1993, 180.
[171] Alcock 1993, 195.
[172] McAllister 1959, 13. Dinsmoor 1940, 145-147. For a comparison of the temples, see figures 12, 13, 14, 15.
[173] Burden 1999, 115.
[174] McAllister 1959, 2.
[175] McAllister 1959, 3.

means that the temple must have been moved after construction of the Odeion had already begun. An inscription honoring Augustus's grandson, Gaius, as the "new Ares" found on a stone in the Theater of Dionysus further narrows down the date as it must have been inscribed sometime before Gaius's death in 2 CE and it is likely that the inscription has something to do with the movement of the temple.[176] This means the temple was likely moved sometime between 16-14 BCE – when the Odeion was most likely completed – and 2 CE, when Gaius died. Furthermore, it is likely that the temple was completed in time for Gaius's visit to the city around 2 BCE.[177] The date of 2 BCE is also attractive because it coincides with the date of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Augustan Forum – the importance of this connection is discussed later.[178]

The original location of the temple was first postulated to be Acharnai, a deme northeast of Athens, by Homer Thompson.[179] This identification was based on a late 4th century BCE stele from Acharnai that referred to an altar dedicated to Ares and Athena Arias, which indicated that Acharnai had a cult to Ares by the late Classical period.[180] The identification was further strengthened by the fact that Pausanias does not mention the cult of Ares at Acharnai which suggests that the cult may have been lost by the 2nd century CE.[181] Another inscription from Acharnai, dated to the 1st century BCE, thanked Augustus and Ares and was taken by Thompson as further proof that the temple had been from Acharnai.[182]

[176] Burden 1999, 115. The inscription reads: ὁ δῆμος Γάϊον Καίσαρα Σεβα[στοῦ] υἱὸν νέονἌρη IG II^2 3250. Levensohn and Levensohn 1947, 69.
[177] Rose 2005, 53.
[178] Whittaker 2002, 36.
[179] Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 165.
[180] Burden 1999, 116.
[181] Burden 1999, 116.
[182] Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 165.

More modern excavations, however, have shown that the temple was not from Acharnai but Pallene, another area northeast of Athens.[183] This newer identification is based on the discovery of foundation blocks matching the dimensions of the temple in the Agora.[184] The foundation blocks at Pallene have marks consistent with a 5th century BCE date and it is likely that some of the blocks that are absent from the foundations were moved with the rest of the temple to the Agora.[185] It is still possible, however, that the altar of Ares, for which no matching foundations have been found at Pallene and which is slightly later in date than the temple itself, may have actually been moved from Acharnai.[186] The temple, based on size alone, was likely relocated to the Agora with a place already in mind. It was positioned midway between the Odeion and the Altar of the 12 Gods and was carefully axially aligned with the Odeion, the Panathenaic Way, and the altar to Ares which is consistent with Roman urban planning and in contrast to the traditionally open nature of the Agora (Figure 16).[187]

The physical remains of the temple consists largely of blocks and fragments found throughout the Agora, as well as the foundations which are still in place (Figure 17).[188] The foundations have five courses of reused poros blocks cut into bedrock with a packed layer of broken stone underneath.[189] The blocks are a mix between a soft gray poros and a harder poros and they are set up together randomly which strengthens the idea that they are reused from earlier structures around the Agora and the original site.[190] The temple was bordered by a terrace

[183] Burden 1999, 116.
[184] Burden 1999, 116.
[185] Burden 1999, 116.
[186] Acharnai has no evidence for a temple but does have evidence for an altar from the inscribed stele. Burden 1999, 117.
[187] Burden 1999, 118.
[188] Burden 1999, 118-120.
[189] McAllister 1959, 2.
[190] Burden 1999, 118.

on its northeastern side which was paved with Hymettian marble leading to the altar.[191] In the bedding stones of this terrace, fragments of Hymettian marble blocks with shield motives were found, a motif fitting for the cult of Ares.[192]

There are around one hundred blocks of the superstructure remaining, made of an unusual gray shade of Pentelic marble.[193] The blocks, except for a few isolated cases, only have 5th century BCE cuttings and there are no indications for any re-cuttings for Roman pi-clamps.[194] This means it is very likely that the 1st century BCE masons reused the original double T-clamp cuttings and possibly the clamps as well.[195] This indicates a remarkably careful dismantling, transferring, and reassembling process and a high level of skill for all the workers in charge of the project. The masons accomplished this through the use of a relatively simple but ingenious system of carved letters that indicated the precise location of the blocks within the temple itself.[196]

The system varied slightly between sections of the temple, but for the blocks of the superstructure, there was a string of 3 letters carved onto each block, close to the outer edge, with each letter indicating a specific position of the block (Figure 18).[197] How exactly these were carved has been debated but it seems most likely that the block was first labeled with something non-permanent as it was revealed in the dismantling process and then carved once it had been

[191] Burden 1999, 119.
[192] Burden 1999, 120.
[193] Burden 1999, 121.
[194] Burden 1999, 122.
[195] Burden 1999, 122. The double-T clamp, along with the double-Γ, was very common in the Classical period but were gradually replaced throughout the Hellenistic and Roman period with other clamp types. Dinsmoor 1973, 175.
[196] Burden 1999, 122.
[197] The first letter indicated the horizontal position, the second indicated the vertical and the last indicated what side of the building the block needed to be laid on. Burden 1999, 122. Figure 18.

fully removed.[198] A similar process, but with combinations of two rather than three letters, was used for the column drums, as evidenced by the four complete drums found.[199] These column drums were carefully fluted and cut, and much like the blocks, show very little signs of Roman re-cutting (Figure 19).[200]

As for the entablature and the roofing, three triglyphs survive in full along with several fragments of the epistyle, several fragments of metopes, several pieces of the cornice, pieces of the sima, several roof tiles, and numerous fragments of coffer trays (Figures 20-22).[201] It is in this top part of the temple that most of the Roman changes occurred, consistent with the idea that the roof had been damaged at some point before the transportation of the temple.[202] Although there is no evidence for the use of Roman pi-clamps on the entablature, there is a large dowel cutting for the attachment for one of the preserved triglyphs that is Roman, as well as numerous Roman replacements for the coffering and roof tiles.[203] Perhaps the most concrete evidence for damage to the roof prior to the transfer is the reuse of pieces of the sima from the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion as well as Augustan replacements.[204]

Now that an inventory of the remains of the temple has been laid out, it is time to turn to the appearance of the temple. As stated before, the building was Doric with a colonnade of 6x13, roughly the same size as the Hephaisteion and also similar to the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion.

[198] Burden 1999, 123.
[199] Burden 1999, 125.
[200] Burden 1999, 124. Of the four extant drums, one was found near the Theater of Dionysus and had been used as a millstone, a second was found near the east end of the foundations for the Temple of Ares, a third was incorporated into the 1937 restoration of the Hephaisteion and now sits as the bottom drum in the north pronaos column, and a fourth was found near the Stoa of Attalos and was also used as a millstone. McAllister, 1959.
[201] Burden 1999, 125-134.
[202] Burden 1999, 130.
[203] Burden 1999, 126-134.
[204] Burden 1999, 129-130.

Without more evidence, it is hard to say whether it had a more conservative look with stout columns and a heavy entablature, such as the Hephaisteion, or if it had taller, more slender columns such as the Temple of Poseidon, although it is possible that the temple may have been somewhere in the middle.[205] The temple faced east and had a pronaos and an opisthodomos with two columns placed in front of both.[206] The pronaos was potentially deeper than the average to account for the unusually long length of the temple in proportion to its width.[207]

As for the decoration of the temple, not much evidence has been found. No sculpture for the metopes or the pediment has been uncovered but traces of red paint have been noted under some mutules and traces of blue have been preserved on some of the fragments of mutules themselves which suggest that areas of the entablature were painted.[208] The decoration of the sima, too, has been preserved – it is similar to the Hephaisteion and was probably also similar to the Temple of Poseidon, as that was where replacement fragments of sima were taken from, and was decorated with a pattern of alternating lotuses and palmettes with a lion-headed spout placed at every third palmette (Figure 23-26).[209] There is no surviving evidence of the cult statue but Pausanias claimed that it was an original 5th century BCE statue constructed by Alkamenes.[210] He also mentions two statues of Aphrodite, one of Athena, one of Enyo, and several others that stood in the sanctuary.[211]

Now that the physical remains and what the temple looked like has been described in detail, it is time to turn to the significance of this temple in regard to the Romanization of Attic ritual

[205] McAllister 1959, 55.
[206] McAllister 1959, 61.
[207] McAllister 1959, 61.
[208] Burden 1999, 128.
[209] Burden. 1999. 130.
[210] Pausanias 1.8.4.
[211] He also mentions images of Herakles, Theseus, Apollo, and Calades. Pausanias 1.8.4.

space. Firstly, as was stated earlier, the Temple of Ares is the best example of the phenomenon of itinerant temples in Athens. The significance of itinerant temples in general was discussed earlier, but it is important to detail the importance of this one in particular. It is the only example of an entire temple being transported at this time and the amount of work that must have been undertaken to ensure that the temple was moved into the Agora with enough care that little restoration had to be done cannot be understated. It would have been a great show of power for whoever commissioned it and there is a decent amount of evidence to suggest that it was funded by Marcus Agrippa and carried out by Roman workers.[212] This evidence includes the axial connection of the temple with the Odeion of Agrippa, strengthened by the placement of the altar as the focal point between the two, the Roman replacements in the sima and coffering, and the close association with Ares to Mars Ultor, an important deity to Augustus and the imperial family, of which Agrippa was a member, which is discussed more in depth shortly.

Furthermore, as there is no evidence to support the worship of Ares at Pallene, it is reasonable to suppose that the temple was originally dedicated to another deity – perhaps Athena Pallenis whose temple at Pallene is attested – and rededicated to Ares upon completion of the transfer.[213] This change in dedication might also explain the lack of sculptural evidence on the metopes and pediments as decoration specific to the original deity would most likely have been reused elsewhere.[214] The rededication to Ares, whose worship is otherwise not well attested in Athens, is extremely significant because of his association with the Roman Mars. Augustus professed a close connection to Mars, specifically in his form of Mars Ultor, to whom he built a temple in honor of Julius Caesar. Although the entire disassembling and transferring process of

[212] Evangelidis 2008, 127.
[213] Burden 1999, 117. Spawforth 2006, 144.
[214] Burden 1999, 127.

the Temple of Ares seems to be unique, there is evidence of the rededication of at least one other temple to members of the imperial family in Attica during the early Roman period.[215]

The fact that the Temple of Mars Ultor was completed in 2 BCE, roughly contemporary with the proposed dates for the Temple of Ares, strengthens the idea that this association was intended. The rededication of the Temple to Ares, then, was arguably another concerted attempt at honoring and seeking favor from Augustus by linking his propagandistic program with Athens. By setting one of Augustus's chosen gods in the center of the Athenian Agora, close to the Odeion, a distinctly Roman claim was placed on what had been culturally and historically a very Athenian area.

The connection between Ares in Athens and Mars Ultor in Rome is made more explicit both by the mention of two Aphrodite statues in the sanctuary and the inscription declaring Gaius Caesar the "New Ares". Augustus and the rest of the Caesars, especially Julius Caesar, claimed descendancy from Aphrodite and kinship with Aeneas, one of the revered proto-founders of the city. Placing statues of the goddess in a sanctuary of Ares is not unusual by itself, given their close relationship in Greek myth, but due to context of the temple's transfer date and its close physical association to the Odeion, it is highly possible that the statues were meant as a way of venerating Augustus through his divine lineage. This claim is strengthened by the construction of the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania on the edge of the Agora, also during the Augustan period, which is discussed more in depth in a following section. Along the same vein, the inscription connecting Gaius with Ares makes the connection between Augustus's family and the god even more clear.

[215] The temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous was rededicated to Livia sometime in the late Augustan period. This will be discussed more in depth in the following chapter.

If the theory that the Temple of Ares was originally dedicated to Athena Pallenis is correct, then it is an interesting example of a sanctuary of Athena being overtaken by Ares, a god with little previous worship in Athens and who had been closely linked to a foreign ruler. This is not to say, of course, that Athena was worshipped any less in Athens because of the new temple to Ares– the cult of Athena on the Acropolis and her associated festival, the Panathenaea, continued to be the most important in the city proper – but it is unlikely that such a change both in the physical landscape of the Agora and in its symbolic importance would not have had an impact on the Athenians.

Furthermore, the very act of moving the temple and the display of power behind it had to have had an impact on the Athenians. Even if the temple had originally been dedicated to Ares, the fact that it had likely fallen into disrepair is clear in the Roman restoration of the roof - although it is technically possible that the roof of the temple may have been damaged in the dismantling process, the nearly perfect condition of the rest of the superstructure and the obvious skill that is evident throughout the entire process makes that unlikely. The use of salvaged material from the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion in the form of pieces of the sima also hints at some general disrepair of temples in rural areas, a situation attested throughout the archaeological and historical record of Attica at this time. Thus, the movement of the temple could have been, and likely was, propagated as a sort of rescue restoration by a Roman elite on behalf of the Athenians as a whole – an action that would have fit in well with Augustus's own propagandistic program of restoring and reinstating old temples and cults throughout the Empire. The inscription found at Acharnai thanking both Ares and Augustus, although not about this temple in particular, may nevertheless hint at this idea.

The last aspect to consider for the Temple of Ares is how it fits in with the classicizing trend of the Augustan era building program. The classicizing elements of the Temple of Roma and Augustus have already been discussed and it is very likely that the movement of a 5th century temple into the Agora is an extreme example of the same trend. The amount of money and work that went into ensuring that the temple was moved with little damage and the skill shown in reduplicating the 5th century work in the ceiling coffers and sima are clear indications that the architectural and decorative elements of the Classical temple were highly prized. The use of an already old temple, built by the people of Attica in a distinctly Greek style and context, to redefine the Agora as, in a sense, Roman, is very much in line with the propagandistic messages of the Temple of Roma and Augustus. The fact that the temple was actually built in the Classical period would have undoubtedly brought some sense of civic pride to the Athenians because of its cultural significance, but the fact that its movement and restoration were carried out by the Romans would have also sent a clear message.

The people of Attica had built it, but it was Roman benevolence that brought it to the people of Athens. It served simultaneously as an example of excellent Athenian work and Roman power. Much like the Temple of Roma and Augustus, the Temple of Ares served as an example of Roman influence couched in terms already familiar and palatable to the Athenian people. It did this by tapping into and extorting the already existing Athenian framework. The Temple of Roma and Augustus was meant to connect the victory over the Parthians to the victory over the Persians and the Temple of Ares was meant to venerate a god close to the emperor and familiar to the Romans in a place that was intrinsically linked to Athens and her people.

2.4 The Temple of Aphrodite Ourania

The Sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania is located in the northern part of the Agora on the west side of the Stoa Poikile (Figure 27).[216] Unlike the Temple of Ares, the cult of Aphrodite Ourania in the Agora dates back to the beginning of the 5th century BCE, when a monumental altar was first erected for the goddess.[217] The size of the altar, along with its position in the Agora and the early date of the cult suggests that it was one of the major religious shrines in the Agora but an actual temple was not constructed until the Augustan period.[218] The date of the first temple, then, seems to signify a Roman interest in honoring the old cults of the Agora at a time that they are also inviting new ones into the space. The distinctly Roman style of the temple, which will be discussed more in depth shortly, is a clear indication of Roman influence over the space.

The early altar of the sanctuary is dated to around 500 BCE based on sherds of pottery found in layers around the bottom of the altar.[219] The foundations of the altar were blocks of poros stone and the superstructure was made with highly polished island marble (Figures 28-29).[220] In the packing between the marble orthostates were layers of ash and animal bone mostly dating to the first half of the 5th century BCE.[221] The altar shows signs of damage – probably from the Persian sack of the city in 480 BCE – as well as subsequent repair and it is the only architectural element in the sanctuary during the Archaic and Classical periods.[222]

[216] Shear 1984, 25.
[217] Shear 1984, 29.
[218] Shear 1984, 25.
[219] Shear 1984, 30.
[220] Shear 1984, 30-31.
[221] Some others dated to 430-420. Shear 1984, 31.
[222] Shear 1984, 32.

The sanctuary, unlike the Temple of Ares, was dedicated to the same deity (in this case, Aphrodite) from its earliest use. This is evident through both the discovery of a votive relief depicting a veiled female figure descending from a ladder while holding an incense burner – iconography consistent with Aphrodite Ourania – and the analysis of the faunal remains (Figure 30).[223] The vast majority of the bones were goats, mostly from young females, while birds – primarily doves – were the second most common.[224] Goats, particularly kids, were often sacrificed to Aphrodite and doves, a sacred symbol of the goddess, were exclusively sacrificed to her in the Greek world (Figure 31).[225] The presence of a sanctuary for Aphrodite Ourania in the exact location where the altar and temple were found is s also consistent with Pausanias's account of the Agora.[226]

The temple itself was built near the altar sometime in the Augustan period – pottery found in the fill layers around the southeast corner of the temple date to the end of the 1st century BCE to the very beginning of the 1st century CE.[227] Based on this dating range and the Roman style of the temple, it is likely that the temple was constructed around the same time as the other major architectural changes in the Agora, and therefore likely funded by Marcus Agrippa. The exact layout of the temple is hard to discern as it was rebuilt at least twice in the Roman period, but the extant physical evidence shows that it was carefully oriented so that the façade faced towards the open square of the Agora and its central axis aligned exactly with the altar (Figure

[223] Shear 1984, 38. For discussion and identification of the Aphrodite on a Ladder relief, see Edwards 1984, 59-72.
[224] Shear 1984, 39.
[225] Shear 1984, 39. A dove votive was also found near the altar. Figure 31.
[226] Shear 1984, 40. Pausanias 1.14.7.
[227] Shear 1984, 36.

32).[228] This careful alignment is both a distinctly Roman characteristic and a clear indication that the temple was connected to the altar.[229]

The physical remains of the temple include the foundations of the porch and the western flank wall.[230] The foundations were made of poros blocks with some reused marble underneath the first step of the temple.[231] The temple was built on a high podium, with steps leading up, and it had a prostyle porch slightly deeper than the cella itself – all characteristics reminiscent of a traditional Roman temple making it highly likely that Roman builders were brought in (Figure 33).[232] Enough pieces of the temple's four columns have survived to show that they were Ionic and clearly influenced by the Erechtheion (Figures 34-35).[233] The columns were roughly three-quarters the size of the columns on the north porch of the Erechtheion and the carefully carved palmette and lotus decoration of the capitals was remarkably similar to those on the east porch of the older temple.[234] The decoration of the capitals was delicately done and the differences between them and those of the Erechtheion seem to indicate an artistic license on behalf of the sculptors rather than lack of skill in replication.[235] The columns are reminiscent also of the Temple of Roma and Augustus, probably built just slightly before the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania, and in both cases, the use of classicizing columns on an otherwise unorthodox Athenian temple served to tie the buildings into the Athenian past.

[228] Shear 1997, 498.
[229] Shear 1997, 498.
[230] Shear 1997, 498.
[231] Shear 1997, 498.
[232] Shear 1997, 499.
[233] Shear 1997, 502.
[234] Shear 1997, 505-6.
[235] Such as the amount of leaves carved for each lotus and the addition of the bead-and-reel pattern both above and below the ornament. Shear 1997, 506.

The Temple of Aphrodite Ourania poses an interesting challenge for the Romanization of Athenian religion as, unlike the Temple of Roma and Augustus and the Temple of Ares, there was clear evidence for the worship of Aphrodite Ourania long before the Romans had any influence over Athens. Nevertheless, of all the temples mentioned, it is the most distinctly Roman, with only the columns to tie its architectural design into the Athenian style. It is also important to note that the goddess Aphrodite, much like Ares, had a close association with the emperor himself as noted earlier. It is highly likely that this particular sanctuary was chosen to have a temple built because of this connection, as well as the close association the goddess had with Rome itself, as the mother of Aeneas.

In the case of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania, it seems clear that, much like the general Roman building program in the Agora itself, the temple was meant to be a distinctly Roman touch on a primarily Athenian space. The temple was undoubtedly meant to bring attention to the Augustan and Roman associations with Aphrodite. Furthermore, the fact that they chose to build a new temple rather than bring in an old one serves to highlight their desire to create a more distinctly Roman influence on the space. The use of the classicizing capitals still served to link the new temple with Athens' own rich building program, ensuring that the Roman-ness of the building would blend in with the traditional Athenian nature of the space.

Furthermore, the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania was most likely meant to be seen as a gift – an example of the benevolence of the Romans just like the Odeion and the Temple of Ares. The fact that the cult was already old also fit into Augustus's own claims that he was reinstituting ancient cults and restoring peace to the empire. Thus, the temple showcased both the benevolence of the Romans and their piety – the latter of which was culturally significant to a *polis* that was widely known for its own devotion to the gods. In this way, the Temple of

Aphrodite Ourania, although less Athenian in appearance to the other ones mentioned in this section, managed to provide a distinctly Roman influence in what was essentially an Athenian framework.

2.5 Conclusions

The changes that the ancient Agora underwent during the Augustan period were significant. The space, traditionally an open area used for civic gatherings and a space to practice Athenian democracy, lost some of its importance with the construction of the Roman Agora and it was closed in by a robust Roman building program. The Odeion of Agrippa, although a primarily secular building, was placed in the center of the Agora, permanently altering the space and placing a distinctively Roman stamp on the Athenian space. This addition was followed closely by the Temple of Ares, a classical temple that was dissembled from its original home, transported, and reassembled into the Agora in a clear show of both Roman power and veneration for the Athenian past. The rededication of the temple, furthermore, served to connect the building and its movement to the Romans in general and the imperial family specifically. Lastly, the construction of the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania inside the archaic sanctuary of the goddess served to both showcase Augustus' promise to restore and honor traditional cults and to demonstrate Roman influence on a venerated Athenian cult.

These changes in Athens itself are significant, but Romanization in the Augustan period was by no means constricted to the city proper. Sanctuaries and shrines all throughout Attica underwent changes in the early Imperial period, both significant and minor, and they are no less important in the discussion of the Romanization of Attic ritual space in the Augustan period. It is these sanctuaries and shrines throughout Attica that are the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter Three: Attica

3.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, Athens underwent some major changes in the Augustan period, particularly in the old Agora. These changes, however, were not limited to just the city proper – Attica as a whole was subject to a large restoration program in the early Imperial period. This program was most likely largely funded, much like in the city, by a combination of Roman euergetists and the influx of wealth that the peaceful Augustan period brought to Athens. A large amount of information on the works program is displayed on a large, fragmentary stele that originally stood on the Acropolis.[236] This stele, IG II^2 1035, attests to the restoration of over 80 Attic shrines and ritual spaces and it is thus incredibly important for understanding the large scope of the program. As such, the inscription is detailed further in the following section.

Several of the places mentioned in the inscription are also detailed in the following sections. Eleusis, because of its cultural and religious significance for the Athenians and because of its Panhellenic and foreign acclaim, is the bulk of this chapter. Other sites to be discussed briefly include Piraeus, which underwent a bit of revival in the Augustan period, and the areas where buildings or architectural features were moved from their original location to Athens, such as Pallene, Sounion, and Rhamnous, where the Classical temple of Nemesis was repaired and rededicated to Livia.

[236] A copy of the stele was also erected in the sanctuary of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira in Piraeus. Schmalz 2007-2008, 28.

3.2 IG II^2 1035

The inscription IG II^2 1035, carved into a large stele that has survived in three parts, is an important, albeit incomplete, look into the massive scope of the restoration of Attic shrines. The intact portions of the stele closely detail the renewal of many small and large religious places throughout Attica, most notably Eleusis.[237] As such, the inscription provides important information on the revival and reconstruction of shrines and religious sites that are otherwise unattested. The stele on which the inscription was written has survived in three fragments – the largest of which, EM 13280, was found in a wall south of the Propylaea on the Acropolis in the late 19th century while the other two, EM 8134 and EM 8135 were both discovered in the early 20th century in unknown spots (Figure 36).[238] EM 13280 and EM 8135 are both part of the inscription, with the former serving as the bulk of the inscription while EM 8134 likely belonged to a former decree.[239] None of the fifty-nine preserved lines survive in their entirety and the original width of the stone is not known, although several scholars have theorized its width based on the surviving pieces.[240] The inscription itself is done in a non-stoichedon style and are engraved slightly unevenly, with some awkwardly shaped letters.[241] The central part of the inscription is badly degraded but other sections of it are fairly clear (Figures 37-38).

The scope of the inscription is incredibly broad – it is the compilation of three separate documents: one recording the initial vote of the resolution, another the implementation, and the third the shrines and sites that were restored under the decree.[242] Around eighty sites in total are

[237] Schmalz 2007-2008, 9.
[238] Culley 1975, 217.
[239] Culley 1975, 208.
[240] Some, such as Tsountas, have suggested a width under a meter while others, such as Immerwahr, have suggested just over a meter. No consensus has been reached. Culley 1975, 209.
[241] Culley 1975, 208.
[242] Schmalz 2007-2008, 28.

catalogued, primarily from Athens, Salamis, and Piraeus, along with several others from central Attica.[243] The inscription also provides several names of the overseers of the work – particularly the hoplite general and the *archon basileus*, whose inclusion has been used by scholars to help date the piece.[244] The date of IG II^2 1035 has been a source of contention and the range of dates has varied widely. Some have argued that the inscription must have been erected before the destruction of Piraeus in 86 BCE, due to the relatively prosperous image of Piraeus depicted on the inscription.[245] Others have argued that the incomplete name -*komedes* refers to the Athenian Lykomedes, who was archon in the 2nd century CE.[246] In recent years, however, a date in the second half of the 1st century BCE has become popular, as explained below.

The first evidence for a 1st century BCE date is the occasional use of *ει* in place of a long *ι* in several words such as *ὁπλείτας* in place of *ὁπλῖτας*, which is found in several places throughout the inscription.[247] This interchangeability of similar sounding vowels first appeared around 100 BCE, which means it cannot be dated any earlier than the 1st century BCE.[248] Apart from this, the inscription can be closely dated by the references within it. The Athenian *taphros,* which was filled in sometime in the first half of the 1st century CE, is mentioned in line 56; this means the inscription cannot date anywhere other than the 1st century BCE to mid-first century CE.[249] Moreover, the date can be made more precise by examining the names of the men mentioned in the inscription, particularly the *archon basileus* Mantias and the hoplite general Metrodoros.[250]

[243] Schmalz 2007-2008, 28.
[244] Schmalz 2007-2008, 28.
[245] Johannes Kirchner and K. Keil both supported this theory. Culley 1975, 217.
[246] Wilhelm Gurlitt and Curt Wachsmuth were proponents of this late date. Culley 1975, 217.
[247] This spelling appears in several places throughout the inscription, most notably where the hoplite general is mentioned as can be seen in the restored lines. Culley 1975, 218.
[248] Culley 1975, 218.
[249] Culley 1975, 219.
[250] Schmalz 2007-2008, 15-16.

Mantias is identified as a member of the Kleomenes-Mantias family of Marathon in the inscription and he is most likely the son of the *archon basileus* Dositheos, who served in the early Augustan period.[251] Mantias is also identified as the father of the official Kleomenes II of Marathon, who is known to have served in the early 1st century CE as a *thesmothete* official.[252] The date of his father's service combined with the date of his son's means that Mantias most likely served as *archon basileus* in the last decade of the 1st century BCE, firmly dating the inscription to the same period.[253] In support of this date is the inclusion of the hoplite general, Metrodoros of Phyle, who held his archonship after 11/10 BCE and therefore must have been the hoplite general in the subsequent decade at the earliest.[254] Finally, the name -*ikomedes,* which has previously been proposed as Lykomedes, could also be restored as Nikomedes, who is attested in several catalogues of mid-Augustan date.[255]

Based on these names, it is likely that the inscription was erected in the last decade of the 1st century BCE, around the same time that much of the Augustan work in the Agora was happening, including the installation of the Temple of Ares and the construction of the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania mentioned in the previous chapter. This means that, by proxy, the restoration of the shrines and *temene* mentioned in the inscription are roughly contemporary to much of the major work done in the old Agora and not much later than the construction of the Temple of Roma and Augustus and the restoration of the Erechtheion on the Acropolis. As argued previously, these works in Athens proper were done on behalf of, or with the financial support of, either the emperor himself or other important Romans, and so it is likely that at a large

[251] Lines 12-13. Culley 1975, 212. For discussion of Mantias's family, see Schmalz 2007-2008, 13.
[252] Schmalz 2008-2009, 13-14.
[253] Schmalz 2007-2008, 16.
[254] Schmalz 2007-2008, 16.
[255] Schmalz 2007-2008, 16.

portion of the larger-scale Attic revival documented in the inscription was also a part of this Augustan program.

Now that the date of the inscription has been addressed, it is time to turn to the inscription itself. As stated earlier, not a single line of the inscription survives in full and there are several battered places that make the extant letters on the stone illegible. However, with the help of scholars who have painstakingly worked to restore the inscription as much as possible, a lot of the information can still be read.[256] The first few lines discuss the vote taken by the *demos* on behalf of the proposed restoration program. Line four of the inscription explicitly states that the restoration was the right of the people as they had voted for work to be done on the shrines and the *temene* of both the gods and the heroes.[257] The inscription also names Metrodoros of Phyle, the aforementioned hoplite general, as one who was responsible for setting up the sacrifices and restoration of the shrines and the *temene*.[258] The inscription also names the *archon basileus* as Mantias and details his responsibility for restoring the shrines and the *temene* as well.[259] As was discussed earlier, it is the names of these two men that allow for a date in the Augustan period.

The inscription then details its own placement – it states that two copies were to be dedicated, one on the Acropolis, near the Temple of Athena Polias, and another in Piraeus, near the sanctuary of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira.[260] The inscription then begins the long list of all

[256] Work such as that of Gerald Culley, whose proposed lines are what was used here. The translations of the lines were done by author. For the restored lines, see Culley 1975, 211-215.
[257] The line, as restored by Culley, reads: [ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι ---- εἶπεν ἐπειδὴ ὁ δῆμος ἐψήφισται περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν]καὶ τεμενῶν ὅπως ἀποκατασταθῆι το[ῖ]ς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν. Culley 1975, 212.
[258] Lines 5-6. Culley 1975, 212.
[259] Line 12. Culley 1975, 212.
[260] Lines 14-16, which read: ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν ταμίαν τῆς ἱερᾶσ διατάξεως ἐν στήλαιν λιθίναιν δυοίν τάδε τὰ ψηφίσματα περὶ τῶ[ν ἱερῶν κ]αὶ τεμενῶν [καὶ τ]ὰ ἀποκατασταθέντα ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένη καὶ εἴ τινα δημοτε λῆ ὄρη ὑπάρχει ἃ κατὰ τάδε τὰ ψηφίσματα ἀποκατασταθῆι ---- καὶ ἀναθε]ῖναι ἥν μὲν [ἐν Ἀκρο]πόλει παρὰ τ[ῆι] Πολιάδι Ἀθηνάι, ἥν δ’ ἐν Πιραιεῖ παρὰ τῶι Διὶ τῶι Σωτῆρι καὶ τῆ[ι] Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Σωτείραι. Culley 1975, 212-213.

the shrines and the *temene* where work was done. One of the most prominent places mentioned is the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis – the inscription details repair-work carried out on the shrine as well as the sacrifice of the *aparche*, or first fruits, an old custom that had faded away sometime after the 4th century BCE but which had evidently been restored at the time of this decree.[261] The inscription also mentions two separate *temene* for Athena Polias, a sanctuary for Dionysus near Akte, a bouleuterion in Zea, two *temene* for Good Fortune, a shrine of Athena Erkane, originally set up by Themistokles in commemoration of the Battle of Salamis, a *temenos* for Athena Lamptrasi, a shrine for Eukleia and Eunomia, a *temenos* for Hebe, and many others.[262]

Of these mentioned places, only Eleusis is discussed in any depth but it is still important to mention these sites because of the sheer scope of the revitalization project. Many of these restorations were likely small in scale - often just the *temene* are mentioned – but it was still a program that encompassed large areas of the region and is therefore important to consider when looking at the Augustan restoration of Attica as a whole. The subsequent sections of this chapter delve into some of the regions outside Athens, beginning with arguably one of the most important sites, the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis.

3.3 Eleusis

Eleusis, located just fourteen miles west of Athens on the fertile Thriasian Plain, was home to one of the most important religious sites in all of the Graeco-Roman world, the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis (Figure 39). This mystery cult, dedicated to the goddess Demeter and her

[261] Lines 22-24. Culley 1975, 212-213. Schmalz 2007-2008, 18.
[262] The exact location of many of these sites are currently unknown and attested to only on this inscription. Lines 31-59. Culley 1975, 213-215.

daughter Persephone, achieved and maintained not only Panhellenic acclaim, but the respect and patronage of foreigners as well, particularly the Romans, and it lasted throughout antiquity, until all pagan worship and temples were banned in the fourth century CE. This widespread nature of the cult allowed for it to thrive, and the Athenians benefited greatly from their close ties with the cult, particularly after elite Romans had taken notice of and an interest in the cult.

The Mysteries were a vital aspect of Athens' carefully cultivated appearance of piety and as such, it is important to consider how the site was transformed during the Augustan Era. Before we embark on an in-depth discussion of the Roman period site, it would be helpful to mention the history of the site, the nature of the cult, and the site's relationship with the Romans, beginning in the Republic period and going until Augustus's reign.

3.3.1 Historical Context

Eleusis has revealed an incredibly long, complex history on the basis of its archaeological remains. The name Eleusis, like many other old sites in Attica, is Pre-hellenic, and it may have been the name that was first given in the Bronze Age, when a settlement on the slope of the Eleusinian Hill was constructed in the Middle Helladic Period.[263] The site was used continuously throughout the Bronze Age, and it is during the Late Helladic Period that the first attested religious structure, Megaron B, was constructed.[264] Despite this early religious building, it is unlikely, as Michael Cosmopoulos has convincingly argued, that there was religious continuity between the Mycenaean rituals at Eleusis and the rituals that began to take place in the same area during the Geometric period.[265] Instead, as Cosmopoulos has also demonstrated, it was most

[263] This settlement was discovered and uncovered by Andreas Skias in his 1895-1902 excavations as well as by George Mylonas in his 1930-1931 excavation. Mylonas 1961, 30.
[264] Mylonas 1961, 48.
[265] Cosmopoulos 2014, 423.

likely cultural memory that had the later Greeks building their religious structures in the same area as their predecessors did.[266] Although there is evidence that Eleusis continued to be occupied, albeit by a rather diminished population, following the end of the Bronze Age, throughout the early Iron age, and into the Geometric period, this thesis focuses more on this latest period.[267]

In the Geometric period, a new peribolos wall was constructed around Megaron B, which was likely still visible, and several pyres filled with figurines and pottery sherds were constructed and used – the first definitive evidence of ritual since the Mycenaean period.[268] At the same time, the Sacred House was built, possibly in connection to a nearby grave, and a wall was constructed around part of the Western Cemetery, possibly a sign for ancestral ritual.[269] It is not until the early Archaic period, however, that the first building to Demeter is built on top of a Geometric period terrace.[270] The Archaic period is also the time by which Eleusis was brought into the Athenian sphere, a transition that traditionally happened through a war between the two peoples, and the second half of the 6th century BCE saw more construction, this time on the behest of the Athenian tyrant Peisistratus.[271]

Peisistratus, who also carried out major religious reforms in Athens itself, was the first known Athenian involved in the cult at Eleusis and he began the long, close relationship between the Eleusinian Mysteries and Athens through a series of changes in the sanctuary, including the construction of the first square Telesterion. It is during his reign that the sanctuary and the city

[266] Cosmopoulos 2014, 423.
[267] Cosmopoulos 2015, 128-131.
[268] Cosmopoulos 2015, 138.
[269] Cosmopoulos 2015, 138.
[270] Cosmopoulos 2015, 139.
[271] Cosmopoulos 2015, 141.

itself were enclosed by a long wall and the main approach to the sanctuary shifted to the northern side, facing towards Athens (Figure 40).[272] This relationship continued throughout the Archaic period and Eleusis suffered major destruction by the Persians around 480-479 BCE, most likely after Athens itself was sacked.[273]

Not long after the destruction, likely between 479-461 BCE, the Athenian official Kimon began repairs on the sanctuary.[274] This included a longer, rectangular Telesterion that would remain unfinished, however, when he was ostracized in 461 BCE. Instead of Kimon, it was Pericles who would complete the Telesterion that would remain in use until pagan cults were banned. The Periclean Telesterion had two separate building plans - the first was developed by Iktinos, as reported in both Strabo and Vitruvius and it was he who enlarged the Telesterion's width so that it would be square in form again and developed the first *opaion* in the ceiling (Figure 41).[275] Iktinos's plan, most likely due to architectural difficulties, was abandoned and a group of three architects, Koroibos, Metagenes, and Xenokles, were the ones to complete the structure in a successive series of construction (Figure 42).[276]

After the completion of the Periclean Telesterion, little building was done at Eleusis until the 4th century BCE, likely because of the Peloponnesian War and its immediate repercussions.[277] In the second quarter of the 4th century, however, possibly at the command of

[272] Cosmopoulos 2015, 142.
[273] Mylonas 1961, 107.
[274] Plutarch mentions his work at Eleusis in *Kimon.* Mylonas 1961, 107.
[275] Each of the Telesteria were built on top or around the same area as each other and Megaron B. The Telesterion begun by Kimon was longer in length than it was in width, meaning that the building would have been rectangular if it had been completed. The *opaion,* a window in the ceiling, was important somehow in the religious rites of the Telesterion. Cosmopoulos 2015, 144.
[276] Their names are preserved in Plutarch's writing as well as an inscription bearing Koroibos's name. Mylonas 1961, 115-116. Figure 42.
[277] Cosmopoulos 2015, 146.

Lykourgos or someone immediately before him, the peribolos wall was rebuilt.[278] The 4th century BCE also saw the construction of the Stoa of Philo, begun by Lykourgos and completed by Demetrios Phaleron, and a new temple for Plouton to replace the original Peisistrateian one.[279] Very little construction occurred throughout the Hellenistic Period, likely because of the continuous political changes occurring in Athens, and it is this period that the dedications of the *aparche* disappear form the records, not to resurface until the Augustan period. The late Hellenistic Period, following Roman involvement in the Greek mainland, saw an increased interest in the Mysteries and the site received quite a few benefactions from prominent late Republican Romans and the subsequent emperors and Imperial families. The Roman involvement in the site, however, is discussed in a following section.

The archaeological record of Eleusis showcases an incredibly long-lived site that had religious significance, even if it was not religious continuity, for much of its history. It is important, however, to also consider the religious nature and the mythical origins of the site as it is these that gave the site the cultural importance that would help the Athenians gain prominence and benevolence from the Romans.

3.3.2 The Nature of the Mysteries

The Mysteries at Eleusis were just one of several Demeter-related festivals that took place in the sanctuary, but their absolute preeminence at the site and their high status among the mystery cults is clear from the archaeological and historical evidence. The Mysteries, furthermore, were an important aspect of Athenian religion, as discussed briefly in the previous chapter. Perhaps more significant for this study, they were also a vital part of how Athenian piety

[278] Cosmopoulos 2015, 146.
[279] Cosmopoulos 2015, 146.

was showcased to the greater Mediterranean world and played an instrumental role in ensuring Athens' image of cultural preeminence to the Romans. For this reason, an in-depth discussion of these mysteries is critical for any study of Athenian religion and Attic religious space.

By definition, mystery cults were surrounded by secrecy and the Eleusinian Mysteries were no exception – for an initiate to reveal the secrets of the cult to a non-initiate or for a non-initiate to enter the sacred boundaries of the site during the rites were both punishable by death.[280] This demand for secrecy was so strong that Pausanias, when writing his *Description of Greece,* refused to detail anything that stood within the walls of the sanctuary.[281] Because of this secrecy, many details of the cult are completely unknown or are known only by conjecture or later, predominantly early Christian sources who did not fear the punishments for revealing the secrets but also held considerable bias towards the pagan practice.[282] What is known, however, provides a broad view of what the cult may have entailed.

The Eleusinian Mysteries celebrated the two gifts Demeter gave to humans – agriculture and a promise for a better life after death. The Mysteries themselves, which were thought to reveal the secrets to this better afterlife, were the second gift from the goddess.[283] The story of Demeter revealing the secrets of her Mysteries had two major versions but the only one to survive comes down from the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, written by an unknown author

[280] A list of people who fell victim to this law include: Aeschylus, who was tried for revealing secrets of the mysteries in his tragedies but was ultimately acquitted (Aristotle, *Nicomachaean Ethics* 1111a 8-10), Alcibiades, who was accused of both mutilating the herms and making a parody of the mysteries the night before he sailed for Sicily and tried in absentia (Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 19-21), and a group of uninitiated Akarnanian men who were put to death for entering the precinct during the Mysteries in 201 BCE.
[281] He stated that a dream came to him forbidding him from revealing anything within the sanctuary. Pausanias 1.38.7.
[282] Many early Christian writers sought to disparage Pagan practices. Cosmopoulos 2015, 22.
[283] Sourvinou-Inwood 2002, 28.

sometime in the 7th century BCE.[284] The hymn details the abduction of Persephone, Demeter's search and wanderings, and their eventual reunion, aspects which were central to the Mysteries. Although details vary between the hymn and some later accounts, the general origin of the mysteries comes about when Demeter's wanderings lead her to Eleusis where she mourns her daughter on the Mirthless Rock, a later landmark in the sanctuary.[285] While in Eleusis, Demeter cared for the son of the king and queen of Eleusis until Metaneira, the queen, caught her placing her son in a hearth; when Metaneira caught her in the act, Demeter revealed her true identity and demanded a temple be built for her and taught the Eleusinians her rites.[286]

This hymn is an important tool for understanding the nature of the Mysteries as it details the myth that is central to the rituals and celebration of the mysteries. Another myth that is central to the mysteries is the war between Athens and Eleusis. Traditional Athenian history states that the Athenians forcefully took control of Eleusis during the unification process of Athens sometime in the mythical past. Most surviving accounts placed this war during the reign of Erechtheus in Athens and Eumolpos, the traditional founder of the Mysteries, in Eleusis.[287] The results of this war are central to Athenian and Eleusinian myth as it ends with Athenian control over all of Eleusis, with the exception of the Mysteries. It is also important as the Eleusinian king Eumolpos gave his name to one of the two families in charge of the most important Eleusinian priesthoods, the Eumolpids.[288]

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[284] The other major tradition was the Orphic version in which Demeter herself went to the underworld to recover her daughter, rather than Zeus sending Hermes, as detailed in the Homeric Hymn. Cosmopoulos 2015, 9.
[285] Cosmopoulos 2015, 12.
[286] Demeter sought to make the son immortal by burning away his mortality in a fire, but because the queen interrupted her, he was doomed to be mortal. *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* lines 255-275.
[287] Thucydides, Pausanias, and Apollodoros all place the war during the reign of Erechtheus but Pausanias also mentions another chronology that Strabo also cites that places the war during the reign of Ion. Plutarch offers a third chronology that dates the war to the reign of Theseus. Cosmopoulos 2015, 10.
[288] Cosmopoulos 2015, 16.

Despite the Eleusinians traditionally keeping control of the Mysteries, they were linked with Athens from a relatively early date, and at least by the 6th century BCE, powerful Athenians could have considerable influence over the sanctuary. It was at this time that the main approach to Eleusis was moved to face north towards Athens, rather than south.[289] Athenian influence can also be seen through both the *archon basileus* being in charge of the organization of the Mysteries and in the carrying out of the Lesser Mysteries and the first part of the Greater Mysteries in Athens proper.[290]

This Athenian influence, however, did not carry over completely. As stated earlier, the highest Eleusinian priesthoods were always held by the Eumolpids and the Kerykes, both of whom were rooted in Eleusinian tradition.[291] The highest priesthood, the *hierophant,* was always held by a Eumolpid and he was the only person allowed to enter the most sacred room of the Telesterion, the Anaktoron, where the *hiera* were held, the only ones allowed to show these sacred objects to the newly initiated, and the one to officiate the initiation at all.[292] Other known Eleusinian priesthoods include the *hierophantides,* two priestesses of the goddesses; the priestess of Demeter and Kore, also always from the Eumolpid family, was the second most important priesthood.[293] The Priestess Panageis was another one – she was responsible for moving the *hiera* to Athens and then back to Eleusis during the Greater Mysteries.[294]

[289] Other changes that hint at increasing Athenian influence by this date are the construction of the 6th century Telesterion and the reconfiguring of the sanctuary, all carried out by the Athenian tyrant Peisistratus. Cosmopoulos 2015, 140-142.
[290] Cosmopoulos 2015, 17.
[291] Cosmopoulos 2015, 16.
[292] Cosmopoulos 2015, 16.
[293] The priestess was involved in several other Demeter festivals in Attica. Cosmopoulos 2015, 16.
[294] Other priesthoods also existed, including the *dadouchos* who was always from the Kerykes clan and who led the procession from Athens alongside the hierophant during the mysteries. Cosmopoulos 2015, 16-17.

The central part of the Mysteries was the initiation ceremony, carried out in two parts. The ceremony was highly structured and always took place at the same time each year, with the exception of Augustus' second initiation, which is discussed more in a following section. The Mysteries also came in two phases – the Lesser Mysteries which were held in Spring and were not mandatory for the initiation into the cult, and the Greater Mysteries which were the central ritual at Eleusis.[295] The Greater Mysteries took place in the fall and they were open to everyone, excluding murderers and those not fluent in Greek. The ritual was preceded by a truce and official delegations throughout the Greek city-states.[296] The ritual proper began on the 15th day of the Athenian month of Boedromion and lasted a total of nine days, four days at Athens and five at Eleusis.[297]

The day before the Mysteries began, the *hiera* were removed from the Telesterion and brought into the Eleusinion in the Athenian Agora.[298] The four days at Athens consist of a gathering at the Poikile Stoa and a formal declaration of the Mysteries, a procession to Piraeus and a purification involving the washing of piglets in the sea, sacrificing the piglets, and finally the Epidauria or Asklepieia on the last day, the 18th day of Boedromion.[299] On the day after the Epidauria/Asklepieia a procession to Eleusis occurred and then songs and dances were dedicated to both goddesses.[300] Then, the initiates performed several sacrifices and fasted throughout the day before drinking the *kykeon,* the sacred drink that Demeter consumed during her search for her daughter.[301] The most secretive part of the Mysteries then took place on the sixth night

[295] Cosmopoulos 2015, 17.
[296] Cosmopoulos 2015, 17.
[297] Cosmopoulos 2015, 18.
[298] Cosmopoulos 2015, 18.
[299] Cosmopoulos 2015, 18.
[300] Cosmopoulos 2015, 18.
[301] Cosmopoulos 2015, 19.

through the seventh day inside the telesterion, during which the *hiera* were most likely revealed to the initiates.[302] It was also during this same night that the second initiation, the *epopteia,* took place for returning initiates.[303] On the eighth day, libations and rites for the deceased took place and then on the following day everyone returned home.[304]

Thus concluded one of the most important rites in all of the Greek world, not to be done again until the following year. Although what exactly happened is not clear, the importance of these rites in the religious sphere of the Greco-Roman world is obvious. The Mysteries are mentioned in plays, histories, biographies, laws, and personal letters and they lasted hundreds of years without any marked drop in their popularity until the Christian period. The close connection Athens had with these important rites, and the relative control the city had over parts of them, enabled Athens to establish a public image of piety and cultural significance that, coupled with their other famous contributions in the fields of philosophy, drama, and rhetoric, allowed them to take the place as the cultural center of the Greek world in the eyes of the Romans and others. The Roman relationship to the Mysteries, beginning in the end of the 3rd century BCE, is the focus of the next section.

3.3.3 Romans at the Mysteries

The Eleusinian mysteries were highly regarded by the Romans; Cicero himself declared them to be one of the best things to come from Athens, a sentiment that seemed to have been shared by

[302] What exactly went on is, of course, a secret but scholars have put forth several theories based on ancient references. This includes the *dromena,* in which a reenactment of some or all of the myth might have taken place and a possible ritual search for Persephone with torches that ended with the hierophant sounding a gong and the sudden appearance of the goddesses; the *legomena,* during which the hierophant revealed the secrets to the initiates, and the *deiknymena,* in which the *hiera* were shown to the initiates. Cosmopoulos 2015, 23. Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 29-32.
[303] Cosmopoulos 2015, 24.
[304] Cosmopoulos 2015, 24.

other prominent Republican Romans.[305] The earliest expression of Roman interest in the Mysteries, however, happened in 228 BCE, when a delegation of Romans became the first known Roman initiates into the mysteries.[306] Demeter and Kore had become assimilated with the Roman Ceres and Proserpina by the 3rd century at the latest, and so it is perhaps no surprise that the earliest Roman interaction with the Mysteries would occur by the end of the same century.[307] Roman involvement in the cult of Demeter picked up in the 2nd century BCE and was fairly popular among Roman elites by the time of the late Republic. Some of the prominent Roman initiates at this time included Sulla, Cicero, Atticus, Claudius Pulcher, and, at the very end of the Republic, Augustus himself.[308] Augustus was the very first emperor to be initiated and he was the only one for whom the mysteries were celebrated out of turn.[309] His first initiation, as reported by Dio Cassius, occurred shortly after the Battle of Actium, in 31 BCE.[310] The second one, however, did not occur until he visited Athens again, sometime in 19 BCE.[311] He was not the only emperor for whom the mysteries were celebrated, however; Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Septimius Severus, Gallienus are all known to have been initiated and several others, including Claudius and Tiberius, are suspected to have been initiated.[312]

[305] Cicero *de Legibus,* 2.36.
[306] Edwards 1997, 28.
[307] Kelly 2010, 116.
[308] Kelly 2010, 116.
[309] Traditionally, the Greater Mysteries always occurred in the month of Boedromion, but they were held in a different month when Augustus was initiated for the second time. Dio Cassius 54.9.10.
[310] Dio Cassius. 54.9.10
[311] Dio Cassius mentions this second initiation, which took place out of turn, when discussing a delegate from India who was also initiated before committing suicide. 54.9.10. The date of this incident is based on Dio Cassius mentioning Gaius Sentius as consul of the year. 54.10.1.
[312] Kelly 2010, 116-117.

Thus, Augustus was both part of a tradition of Roman elite interest in the Eleusinian Mysteries and the beginning of a long tradition of imperial interest. Archaeological remains from later emperors, particularly Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, indicate that this imperial attention was showcased through a variety of benefactions, typically in the form of restored or new buildings.[313] This type of patronage, as is discussed more in depth shortly, began during the late Republic and continued throughout the empire, as emperors were initiated into the Mysteries. It is most likely, then, that Augustus – and other prominent Romans in the Augustan period – also contributed to the upkeep of the site, as is discussed in the next section.

3.3.4 Archaeological Evidence from the Roman Period

The biggest obstacle to understanding Augustan Age Eleusis is that there is not much evidence that can be dated securely to this period. Besides a monument to Livia and Augustus, which is considered below, not much else, save for a few fragmentary statue bases and inscriptions, are dated securely to Augustus' reign. Most of the major Roman work either occurs before Augustus, such as Claudius Pulcher and his heirs whose work are discussed in depth, and after by emperors like Hadrian, who was heavily involved in Hellenic – particularly Athenian – culture. This does not mean that Augustus neglected the sanctuary or that his impact on the space was negligible. Augustus is believed to have done repairs on the sanctuary, even with nothing securely dated to him, and his interest in the site has already been discussed before.[314]

The most notable example of Augustan influence over the site, however, is the evidence for the Imperial cult at the site. As discussed in the previous chapter, the emergence of the

[313] Hadrian made an embankment along the Kephisos river, built an aqueduct and fountain house and did work on the Greater Propylaia. Marcus Aurelius completed work on the Greater Propylaia and renovated the Periclean Telesterion. Kelly 2010, 118.
[314] Clinton 1989, 1509.

Imperial cult from the Hellenistic ruler cults, is one of the clearest signs of Romanization in Athens proper. The presence of the cult at Eleusis, therefore, is clear evidence for Roman influence over the site, even if it did not affect the traditional Mysteries much or at all.

3.3.4.1 The Lesser Propylaea

The Lesser Propylaea was built before the Augustan period, but as it is the first major Roman contribution, it is important to discuss briefly here. The Lesser Propylaea was vowed to the Eleusinian goddesses by Claudius Pulcher when he was consul in 54 BCE and work was begun sometime in the early months of 50 BCE.[315] It was finished by his nephews, Pulcher Claudius and Rex Marcius, sometime after Claudius Pulcher's death and most of the building dates to the 40s BCE.[316] The Lesser Propylaea replaced the old northern gate and was one of the gateways through which Sacred Way passed leading into the sanctuary.[317]

The main decoration of the gate was a pair of caryatids on either side of the inner entranceway. The caryatids carry *cista* on their heads, hold objects sacred to Demeter and Kore, and are decorated with symbols of the Mysteries (Figure 43).[318] Both statues reveal some archaizing features mixed with a contemporary style – this combination of traditional and innovative elements would become a hallmark of Roman statuary and was also apparent in Augustus' own style of mixing the Classical Athenian style with a contemporary one.[319] The dress and ornamentation of the caryatids suggest that the figures may have been meant to appear

[315] Palagia 1997, 83.
[316] Clinton 1989, 1505.
[317] Mylonas 1961, 139.
[318] A *cista* was a type of box used by the ancient Greeks and Romans to hold various things, both secular and sacred. hese include a type of vessel known as plemochoe, ears of corn, poppies, and myrtle leaves. Palagia 1997, 83.
[319] The archaizing features include a rigid frontality and the wearing of a diplax. Palagia 1997, 87-88.

as though participating in the Mysteries, perhaps as priestesses carrying sacred objects during the procession to Eleusis (Figure 44).[320]

Dressed like this, the caryatids were a suitable decoration leading into the sanctuary and they provide an idea as to what the priestesses may have looked like during part of the Mysteries, although that is not their only significance. The use of caryatids at Eleusis, even if indirectly, would have echoed the famous caryatid porch of the Erechtheion, which was known to be influential to prominent Romans of the Augustan age.[321] The replicas of the Erechtheion caryatids were themselves a type of classicizing emulation. Thus, the caryatids of the Lesser Propylaea find themselves as part of the larger trend of archaizing/classicizing architecture and art that was favored highly by the Athenians and the emperor in the Augustan age, as was discussed in the previous chapter. This trend was undoubtedly repeated in all Augustan projects in Eleusis and thus, the Lesser Propylaea is a key feature to discuss, even though its date precedes the focus of this thesis.

3.3.4.2 Augustan Age Constructions

As stated earlier, not much work at Eleusis can be conclusively dated to the very beginning of the Imperial period. What can be dated to this period, however, provides a good look at how Romanization might have occurred at the most important cultic site in Attica. The biggest monument conclusively dated to the Augustan period is a joint monument for Augustus and Livia. Other smaller pieces include a fragmentary inscription that hints at a priest for Livia, and

[320] Palagia 1997, 89.
[321] Augustus himself had copies of the Erechtheion caryatids placed into the forum of Augustus and Marcus Agrippa commissioned the sculptor Diogenes of Athens to caryatids for the porch of his Pantheon. Palagia 1997, 91.

a fragment of a statue base for a statue of Augustus.[322] Of the pieces that survive, the monument is the most important and is considered below.

The monument in question was dedicated by the Athenians sometime shortly after the Battle of Actium, which corresponds closely with Augustus' first initiation into the Mysteries in 31 BCE.[323] The monument to Augustus and Livia was not the first construction built in dedication to prominent outsiders by the Athenians in Eleusis and it seems evident that this monument served a similar purpose to that of the Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis.[324] Namely, the monument served as a way for the Athenians to curry favor with the new emperor after his substantial victory in the same tradition that had carried them throughout the Hellenistic and Republic periods. Before a comparison of the monument and the temple takes place, it is important to consider the architectural remains of the structure.

The monument was about five meters square and consisted of at least three courses of blocks, the central of which preserved carried the inscription dedicating it to the emperor and his wife.[325] The inscription has two sections and reads:[326]

1. ὁ δ[ῆμ]ος
Λιβίαν Δρουσίλλαν
[αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Γυναῖκα
2. ὁ δῆμος
αὐτοκράτορα Καίσ[αρα]

[322] Clinton 1997, 170-174.
[323] Dio Cassius says that Augustus visited the Mysteries shortly after Actium. Dio Cassius 51.4.1. Clinton 1997, 163.
[324] A statue base was found that once held statues for several members of the royal family of Cappadocia, statues of Atticus and the head of the Epicurean School in the 1st century BCE were set up together, and the Athenians also gave honors to Mark Antony and Octavia wherein they were referred to as gods. Clinton 1997, 164-5.
[325] Clinton 1997, 163.
[326] Greek taken from Clinton's "Eleusis and Romans." Translation by author. Clinton 1997, 165.

θεοῦ Ἰουλίου ὑο[ν]

τόν ἀτοῦ σωτῆ[ρα]

καὶ εὐεργέτ[ην]

The people [gave this] to Livia Drusilla, wife of the absolute-ruler Caesar

The people [gave this] to the absolute-ruler Caesar, son of the god Julius, the savior and benefactor

This dedication is relatively simple but it is still clear that the Athenians sought to please the new ruler, still called Octavian at the time, with a grand monument at Eleusis. In this, it echoes the later Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis, and although it is not known whether the Imperial cult that took place in Eleusis happened at or around this monument, the relatively similar size and the use of the word *σωτήρ* in both the description on this monument and the inscription on the Acropolis suggests that the Athenians were seeking Augustus' favor using the same basic tools.[327] The monument was most likely part of a concentrated effort, much like the way the Temple of Roma and Augustus was, to appease the new ruler in a politically uncertain time for Athens.[328] The choice of placing it in Eleusis, rather than Athens proper, was most likely meant to both follow the tradition of placing monuments for prominent benefactors at the sanctuary and as a way to acknowledge the emperor's own piety and initiation into the Mysteries, an appearance Augustus himself carefully propagated.

Other Augustan related additions to Eleusis include a statue base with a fragmentary inscription honoring Augustus as Zeus Boulaios dedicated sometime around 27 BCE.[329] The inscription, originally published by Andreas Skias in 1897, has been partially restored by Clinton so that the preserved part of the first line reads "….Caesar, Zeus Boulaios…", which is followed

[327] Clinton argues that the internal space of both the monument and the temple were likely the same or close in relation. Clinton 1997, 165.

[328] As discussed in the previous chapter, Athens supported Mark Antony over Octavian in the civil war and there must have been some general unease when Octavian was victorious.

[329] Barnard 2011, 62.

by a line discussing a priest, presumably of the emperor or Zeus Boulaios.[330] This statue base, which was most likely near the Eleusinian Bouleterion, is the clearest example of Eleusinian Imperial cult during the Augustan period.[331]

Although the inscription does not definitively point to imperial worship, there are several factors that can lead to this presumption. First, a priest to Augustus Caesar is known to have existed in Attica, likely established before or around the same time as the priest of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis, which fits the time period for the dedication of this statue base as well as the monument for Augustus and Livia discussed earlier.[332] Second, the Eumolpid family, to which all the hierophants of the Mysteries belonged to, was closely linked to the Imperial cult and its priesthoods; therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that one of the earliest priesthoods for the Imperial cult would have been found at Eleusis.[333] Third, later Imperial cults, including an early one dedicated to Julia Augusta - the name Livia received upon the death of Augustus - and one to Tiberius, Augustus' successor, have been discovered at Eleusis and it seems reasonable to conclude that one to Augustus, which is known to have existed somewhere, would have also been at Eleusis.

The connection between the Imperial cult and Eleusis is important for several reasons. Eleusis was the home of the most sacred of Attic cults and housing the Imperial cult in the same area, even if it was not in a place of prominence, and having priests from the same family that served as the highest priests of the Mysteries, would have given credence to the fledging

[330] The preserved part of the line published by Skias reads "----------αρα Δία Βουλαί[ον-------] but Clinton has convincingly argued for the restoration of the first word as Καίσαρα. Clinton 1997, 166.
[331] Clinton 1997, 166.
[332] The existence of this priest has been argued by Clinton, Farrior, and others based on the designating "ἐπ' ἀκροπόλει" on the temple inscription and because a seat in the first row of the Theater of Dionysus is known to have been dedicated to the Priest of Augusts Caesar. Clinton 1997, 166.
[333] Clinton 1997, 167.

Imperial cult. It also would have suggested a level of permanence that had been given to very few foreigners before. This is the same reasoning that led to the Temple of Roma and Augustus being placed on the Acropolis. The fact that the monument at Eleusis, the statue base at Eleusis and the temple on the Acropolis were dedicated by the Athenians, rather than the emperor himself, is significant. These were clear attempts by the Athenians to please the emperor by placing him into locations quintessentially Attic and culturally significant. Furthermore, all these instances sought to please the emperor by engaging with the discourse he himself established first for it is certainly no coincidence that the monument and statue both were erected after Augustus' first initiation into the Mysteries.

Thus, although there is not much clear evidence for construction at Eleusis during the Augustan period, the monuments that are known show early signs of Romanization conducted by the Athenians themselves, in very similar ways that occurred in Athens proper. The monument to Augustus and Livia, although not conclusively linked to the Imperial cult, had a similar symbolic purpose as the Temple of Roma and Augustus, the first known building dedicated to the Imperial cult; and the statue base, evidence for Imperial worship at Eleusis, acts as a prelude to later Imperial worship at the site. Furthermore, these early Imperial monuments are the precursors for later, more monumental imperial interest in Eleusis, such as that of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius.

3.4 Other Places in Attica

Before concluding this chapter, it is necessary to consider other places in Attica affected by the Augustan reign. From IG II^2 1035, it can be inferred that Piraeus received some attention in this period. It is likely, given the peace and prosperity Augustus' reign brought forth, that Piraeus underwent a lot of general restoration and repair to revive from the Sullan sack. It can be further

inferred, based on this and the placement of the stele containing the copy of IG II^2 1035, that at least the sanctuary of Zeus Soteira and Athena Soteira, received some attention. Whether this was paid for by the Romans taking an interest in Attica or local Greeks, is not readily clear. What can be seen, however, is that the work was done during the Augustan period, when there were no longer any battles raging across the Greek lands.

Other areas that were affected include ones that had temples displaced in part or entirely. The most drastic example of this is the temple taken from Pallene to be placed in the Agora, discussed in depth in the previous chapter. Other examples are pieces taken from both the Temple of Poseidon and the Temple of Athena at Sounion, and pieces from a temple at Thorikos. These reused temples and pieces of temples represent areas that, for some reason, were not restored. Given the general depopulation that was widespread throughout Attica at this time and the disrepair evident from Augustan restorations on the parts moved to the Agora, it is possible that these religious sites were partially or completely abandoned by the people who worshipped there. It is also possible, and important to mention, that the displacement of religious sites is a significant tool for a new power. These sites, therefore, can be seen, rather than simply as defunct places that the Romans found useful, as places where the new Roman power exerted their will completely over the locals.

One final area to briefly consider is Rhamnous. The Attic city was home to a monument, 4th century BCE, Doric temple, dedicated originally to the goddess Nemesis.[334] This temple was similar in design and date, although rather smaller, to the Hephaisteion in Athens, the Temple of Poseidon in Sounion, and the Temple of Ares, originally in Pallene.[335] In the late Augustan

[334] Spawforth 2006, 147.

period, between 4-10 CE, this temple was restored and rededicated to Livia and it therefore serves as an interesting parallel to the Temple of Ares. In both cases, the Romans selected a Classical temple for reuse and restored them carefully to their former glory. Furthermore, in both cases the temple was rededicated to a deity closely associated with the emperor rather than a more traditionally Greek/Athenian one – Ares instead of Athena, and Livia instead of Nemesis. The key difference between the two, however, is that one was restored in place while the other was entirely moved. This reason why is one that invites further work to be done on both this site in particular and on Roman Attica in general.

3.5 Conclusions

Attic ritual space, as a whole, underwent some significant changes in the Augustan period. Although these changes were most prominent in Athens itself, there is significant evidence to suggest that the entire region was influenced by the Romans in this period. A large portion of this evidence comes from the extensive inscription IG II^2 1035 which mentions many shrines and *temene* that were restored in this period. These restorations were likely influenced by Augustus' public desire to restore traditional cults and were made possible by the peace he brought to the Roman world. Beyond this inscription, Roman influence throughout Attica comes in the form of itinerant temples, discussed in length in the previous chapter and briefly in the previous section. These itinerant temples, mostly specific sections of a building with the exception of the Temple of Ares, represent defunct sanctuaries that, for whatever reasons, were not restored by the locals or the Romans. They also showcase the special privilege given to the city itself, at the detriment of more rural areas, as the majority of these temple fragments were transported into the Agora.

Lastly, Roman influence throughout Attica is evident by the adoption of the Imperial cult and veneration of the Imperial family. The most important sanctuary in all of Attica, the

Sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis, was a likely site for the Imperial cult from an early period and a large monument – the only certain Augustan addition to the site – to Augustus and his wife was built to honor the Imperial family. Furthermore, although it cannot be said for certain that this monument was dedicated to the Imperial cult, its similar size to the Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis is notable. Lastly, the rededication of the Classical Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous to Livia is a clear indication of the importance the Imperial cult was getting, even at a relatively early date.

All the restorations listed here are clear examples of the Romanization that took place throughout the region. The changes are, just as they were in the city, a reflection of both Athenian culture and history – additions at Eleusis did not interfere with the sacred rites of the Mysteries, the temple at Rhamnous was built during the region's height – and Roman interest. They reflect the unique nature that Romanization took in Athens specifically, and Attica in general.

Conclusions

The goal of this thesis has been to examine the ways in which the Attic ritual space was shaped by Rome in the early Imperial period, and more broadly whether or not Athens underwent Romanization. To do so, a close examination was made of the Athenian *polis* and the region as a whole. The historic and religious background of Athens was extensively discussed to provide a context that was essential for understanding the changes that took place in Attic ritual spaces. Athens' long tradition of choosing the wrong side in the many altercations of the Late Hellenistic and early Roman periods of Greece and its tradition of honoring new rulers with divine but temporary rites provided both the framework for the rise of the Imperial cult and the need to celebrate Augustus as a permanent leader. At the same time, the *polis's* venerated past and reputation for cultural and religious superiority ensured the patronage of elite Romans, particularly those of the Imperial family, such as Agrippa.

The Temple of Roma and Augustus was both the first new building on the Acropolis in decades and the first permanent structure dedicated to the Imperial cult in all of mainland Greece. It was uniquely Roman in some aspects, yet it also harkened back to some of the most significant cultic buildings on the Acropolis, both by position and appearance. The temple was built to commemorate a Roman victory, yet it was placed near the Parthenon, a tangible commemoration of the triumph of the Athenians over the Persians. This mix of Roman influence and Athenian style is the hallmark of Romanization in Athens – a blending of the two spheres that ensures Roman benevolence and reasserts Athenian culture.

This blending is seen throughout Athens – the Temple of Ares was an Athenian building constructed at the height of the region's power but its movement to the Agora and rededication were Roman assertions of control. The construction of the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania in the northeast corner of the Agora was very much the same – a Roman temple by design placed in an old Athenian sanctuary. Both these temples, also, had a close connection to the emperor himself, and thus can also be seen as a way of connecting him and his rule to what had been a traditionally democratic and quintessentially Athenian space.

These changes are all throughout Attica – there is evidence that the Imperial cult was celebrated at Eleusis, the most sacred of all Attic sanctuaries, and the Temple of Nemesis was entirely rededicated to the emperor's wife. Elsewhere, shrines were being restored or stripped for pieces, primarily at the behest of Roman interest. The widescale restoration program described in IG II^2 1035, even if it was not entirely funded by the Romans, would not have been possible without the peace Augustus brought to the region by ending the Roman civil wars. Furthermore, the rebuilding of old shrines and sanctuaries fits broadly into Augustus' carefully self-constructed image as a devout man determined to restore cultural and religious traditions. That the people of Attica honored him as such can be seen in inscriptions such as the one in Acharnai, that offered gratitude towards the emperor.

The importance of this work is multifaceted. First, it demonstrates that Athens was not, as has been traditionally assumed, exempt from the process of Romanization because it was culturally important. Rather, its cultural importance insured that Roman influence would be exerted on the region as it attracted the attention and benevolence of elite Romans and the imperial family. Second, it showcases that this Romanization did not occur in the traditional definition of the world, which has rightly come under scrutiny in recent years. Instead,

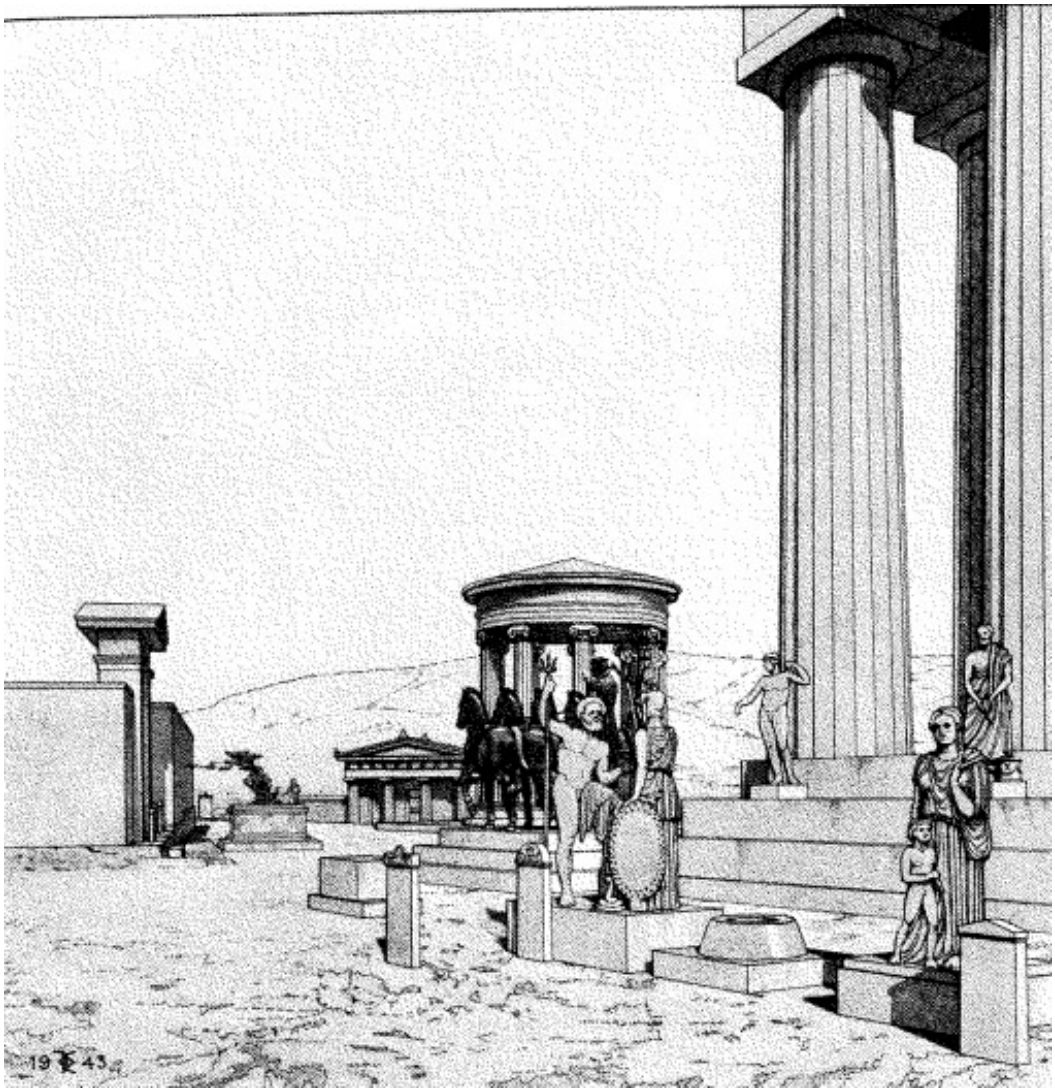
Romanization should be seen as the way Roman influence – predominantly in the form of lasting objects such as material culture and architecture - was exerted onto a region, incorporated into the existing culture, and adapted in a way that served both the local people and the Romans. Third, it considers areas and structures, such as the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania, that for some reason or another, are typically exempt from the discussion about Romanization in Athens. In sum, this work engages in an ongoing conversation but it does so in a way that includes both traditionally cited examples of Romanization and ones that are rarely or never included in the conversation in order to present a relatively broad look at the Romanization of Athens in the Augustan Age.

This work is by no means comprehensive and there are several ways that further research can be done. The discussion of the Attic region as a whole, can be expanded on with a more in-depth discussion of site such as Piraeus, Sounion, Rhamnous, Pallene, Thorikos, and Acharnai that are mentioned briefly. These sites were all changed in various ways in the Augustan period and a closer examination of each would prove productive in furthering the understanding of Augustan Age Attica. Furthermore, Augustus was just the first of several emperors who influenced Attica. The changes that began under his rule – particularly the appearance and rise of the Imperial cult – and the interests that did not begin but were expanded under his rule – such as the interest in the Mysteries and the popularity of the Classical style – shaped the way emperors interacted with Athens. Therefore, a study on later emperors who took interest in Attica or whom the Athenians took interest in – such as Tiberius, Claudius and Hadrian – and how they impacted the region's ritual spaces would also further the understanding of Romanization in Attic ritual spaces.

Figures

Figure 1[336]

Figure 2[337]



[336] IG II^2 3173. The dedicatory inscription for the Temple of Roma and Augustus. Travlos 1971, 495.

[337] Reconstruction of the Temple of Roma and Augustus with a conical roof at the north eastern corner of the Parthenon as restored by G.P. Stevens. Travlos 1971, 495.

Figure 3[338]

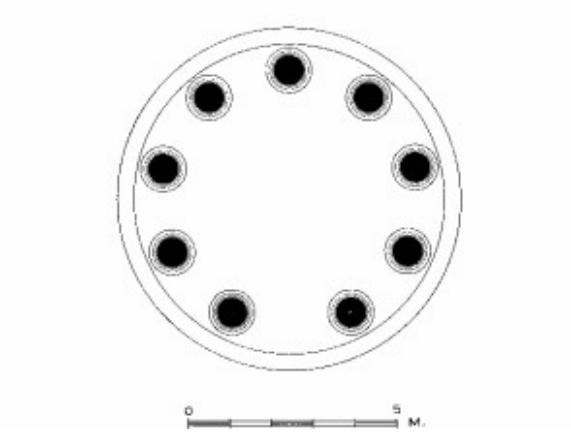


Figure 4[339]

Figure 5[340]

Figure 6[341]

[338] Restored plan of the Temple of Roma and Augustus. Travlos 1971, 494.
[339] Capital from the Temple of Roma and Augustus. Photographer unknown, Wikimedia commons.
[340] Capital from the eastern porch of the Erechtheion. Photographer unknown. British Museum. Museum # 1816,0610.110.
[341] Proposed reconstruction of the Temple of Roma and Augustus without the cult statues inside. Inscription would have been placed on the architrave between the two wider spaced columns. Luckenbach 1905, 46.

Figure 7[342]

Figure 8[343]

Figure 9[344]

Figure 10[345]

Figure 11[346]

[342] Obverse of Pergamum *cistophoros* depicting Augustus, 19-18 BCE. American Numismatics Society RIC I, Augustus 507.
[343] Reverse of Pergamum *cistophoros* depicting round Temple of Mars Ultor, 19-18 BCE. American Numismatics Society RIC I, Augustus 507.
[344] Reverse of Pergamum *cistophoros* depicting the Temple of Roma and Augustus at Pergamum, 19-18 BCE. American Numismatics Society RIC I, Augustus 506.
[345] Reverse of Pergamum *cistophoros* depicting Arch of Augustus, 19-18 BCE. American Numismatics Society RIC I, Augustus 510.
[346] Spanish *denarius* depicting Augustus on the obverse and the round Temple of Mars Ultor with the standards inside on the reverse, 18-17 BCE. American Numismatics Society RIC I, 504.

Figure 12[347]

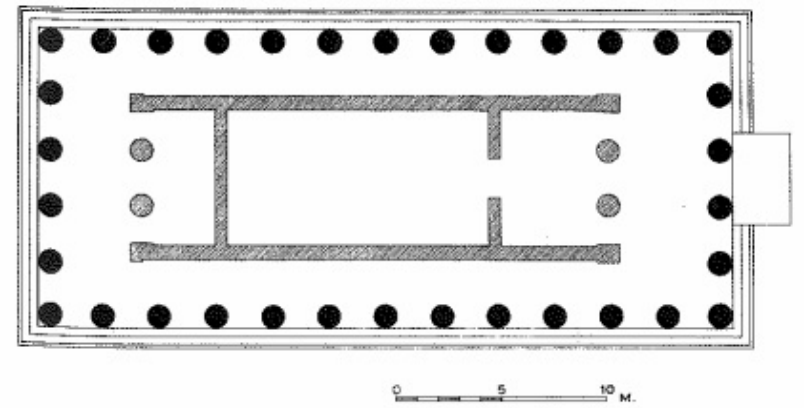
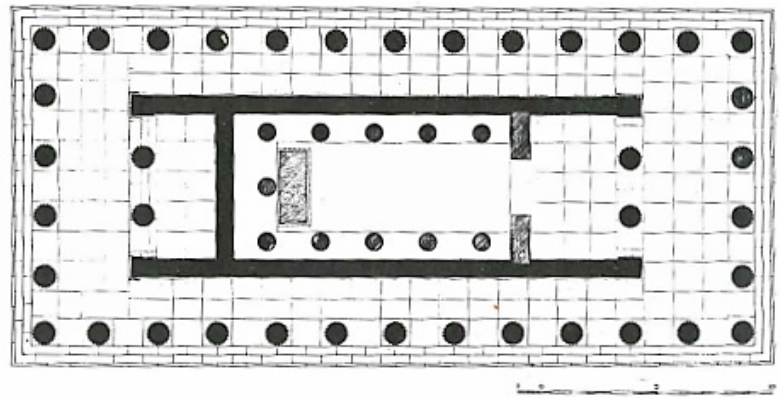


Figure 13[348]



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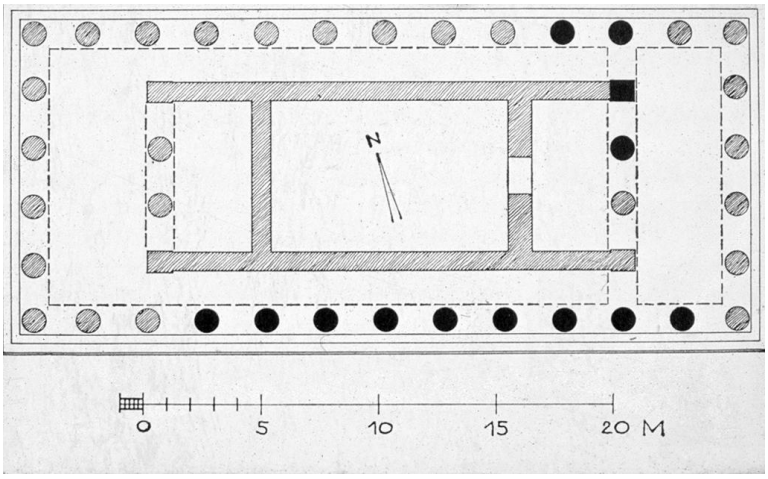
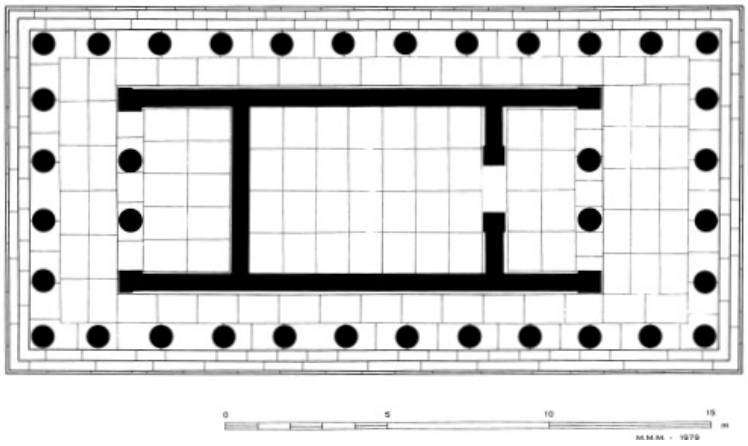


[347] Plan for the Temple of Ares in the Agora. Travlos 1971, 185.
[348] Plan for the Hephaisteion. Travlos 1971, 82.
[349] Plan of the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion. Berve 1963, 398.

Figure 15[350]



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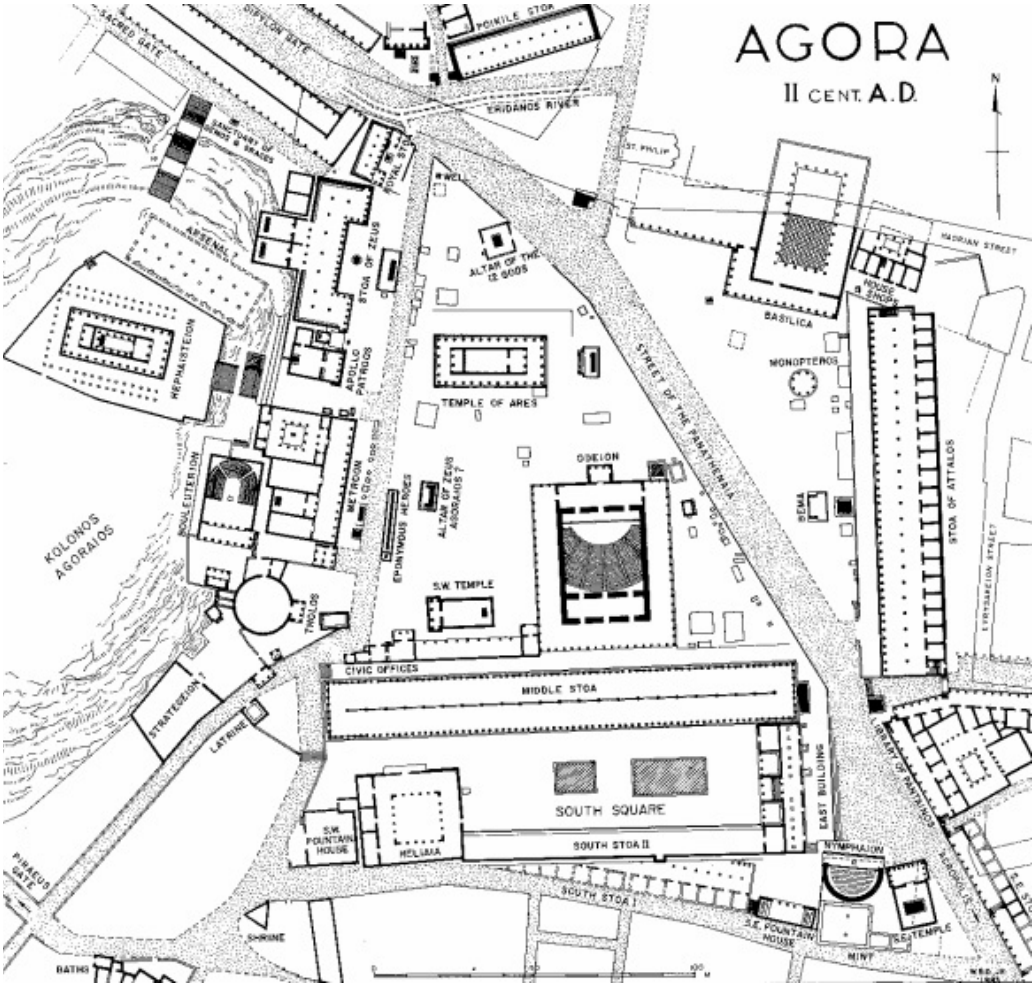


[350] Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous. Miles 1989, 143.
[351] Plan of the Agora, 2nd century CE. Camp 2003, 184.

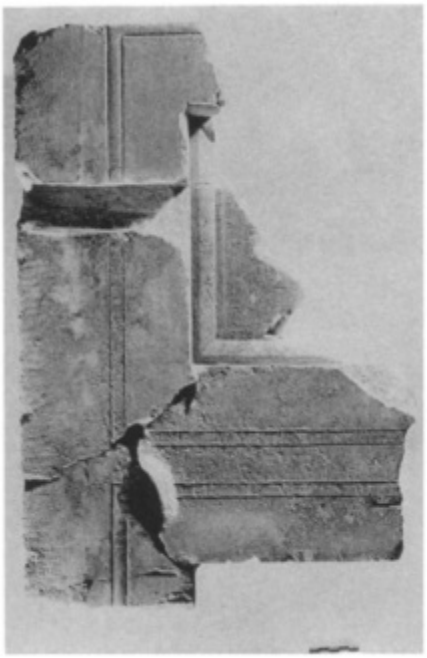
Figure 17[352]

Figure 18[353]

Figure 19[354]

[352] View of the foundations of the Temples of Ares from the Northeast. McAllister 1959, Plate 1.
[353] Step block of the Temple of Ares with carved mason's marks (ΙΓΕ) and a T-clamp on the left-hand side. American School at Athens 1984, 14.
[354] One of the drums from the Temple of Ares. Used in the reconstruction of the Hephaisteion. The maker's marks (BE) visible on the upper part. McAllister 1959, Plate 3.

Figure 20 [355]



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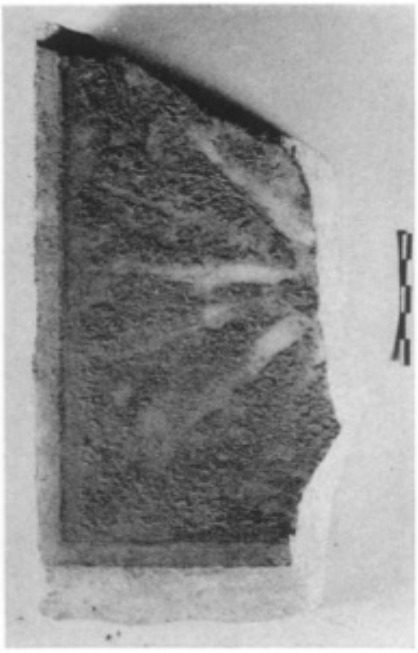

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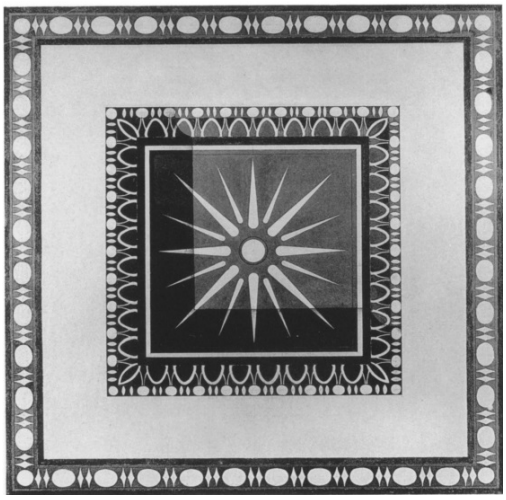
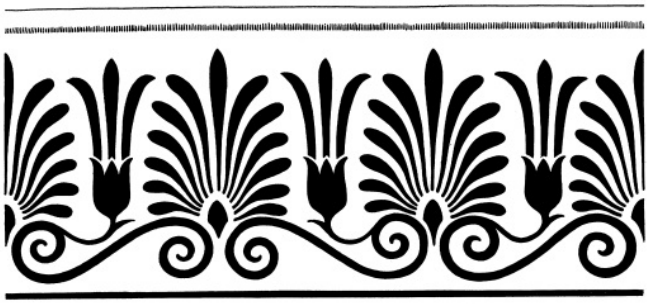


Figure 23[358]



[355] Coffer Fragment A 2137 B from the Temple of Ares. McAllister 1959, Plate 6
[356] Painted Coffer Fragment A 2157 from the Temple of Ares. McAllister 1959, Plate 6.
[357] Restored Coffer from the Temple of Ares. McAllister 1959, Plate 6.
[358] Restoration for the sima of the Temple of Ares. Dinsmoor 1940, 33.

Figure 24[359]

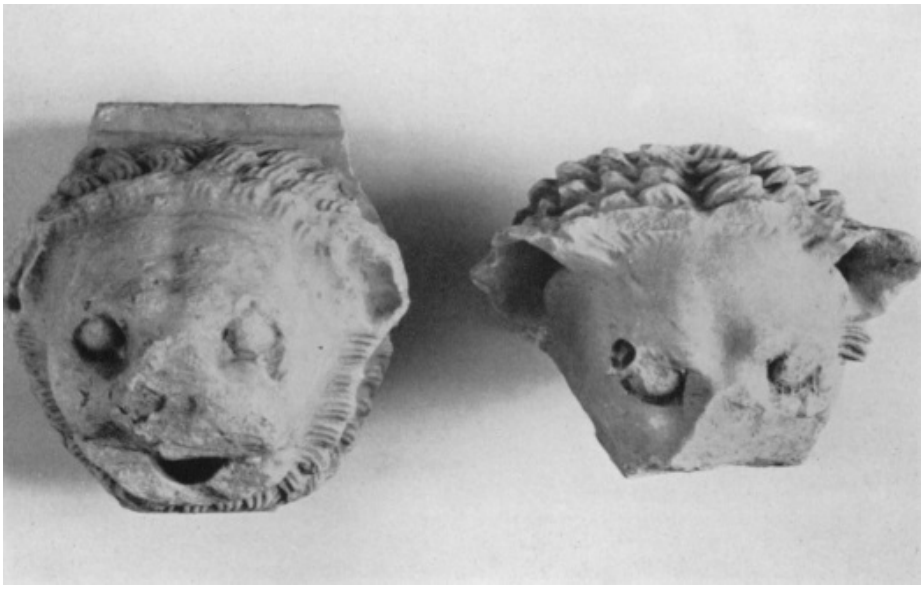
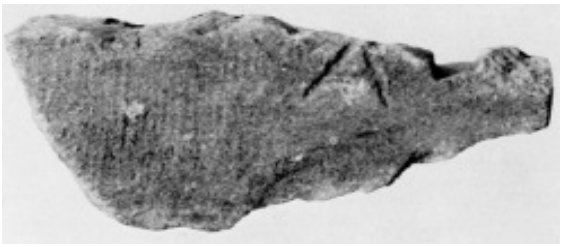


Figure 25[360]

(frontside)



(backside)

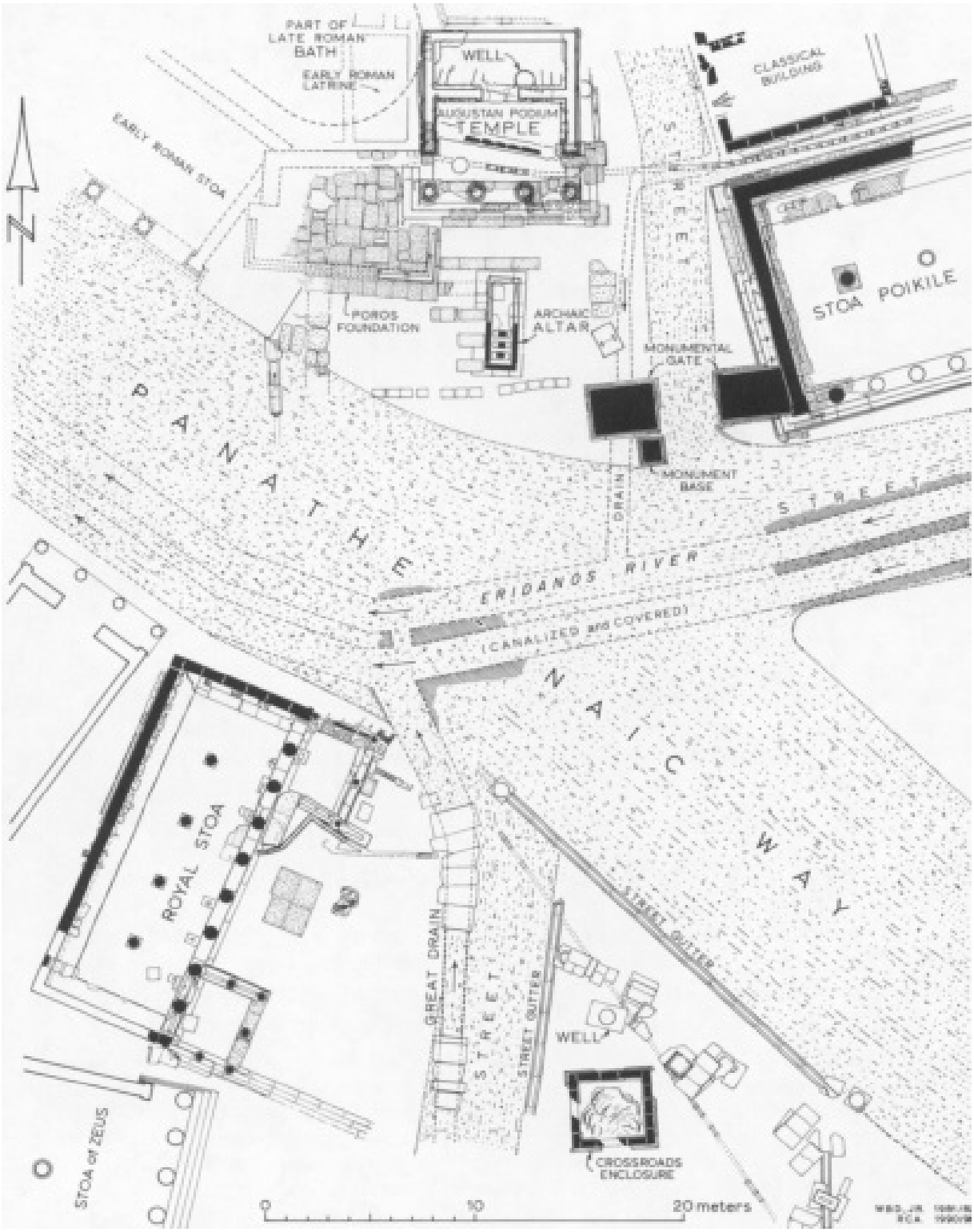
Figure 26[361]

[359] Lion-headed spouts from the Temple of Ares. Dinsmoor 1940, 35.

[360] Fragment A 1899. Portion of a palmette and lotus design. Back displays a mason's mark "A." Originally from the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion, discovered in the agora, reused in the Temple of Ares. Dinsmoor 1974, 233. Dinsmoor 1974, Plate 44.

[361] Fragment A 1778. Found in the walls of a Byzantine house in the agora. Roman replacement of the sima displaying a palmette. Dinsmoor 1974, 235. Dinsmoor 1974, Plate 45.

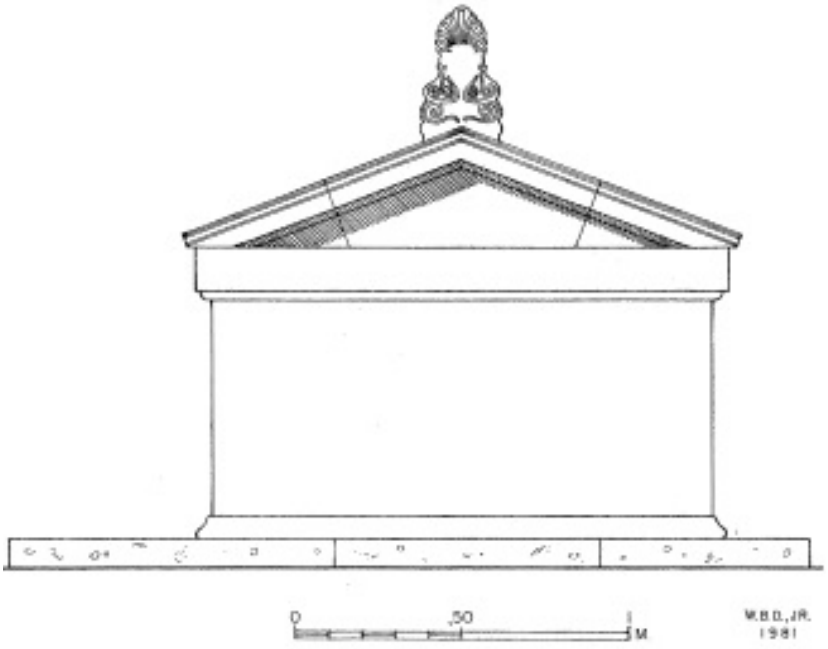
Figure 27[362]



[362] Restored plan of the Northeast corner of the Agora. Shear. 1997. 496.

Figure 28[363]

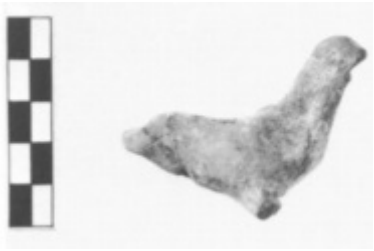
Figure 29[364]



[363] Foundations of the Altar of Aphrodite Ourania from the southeast. Shear 1984, Plate 6.
[364] Restoration of the Altar of Aphrodite Ourania, side view. Shear 1984, 30.

Figure 30[365]

Figure 31[366]



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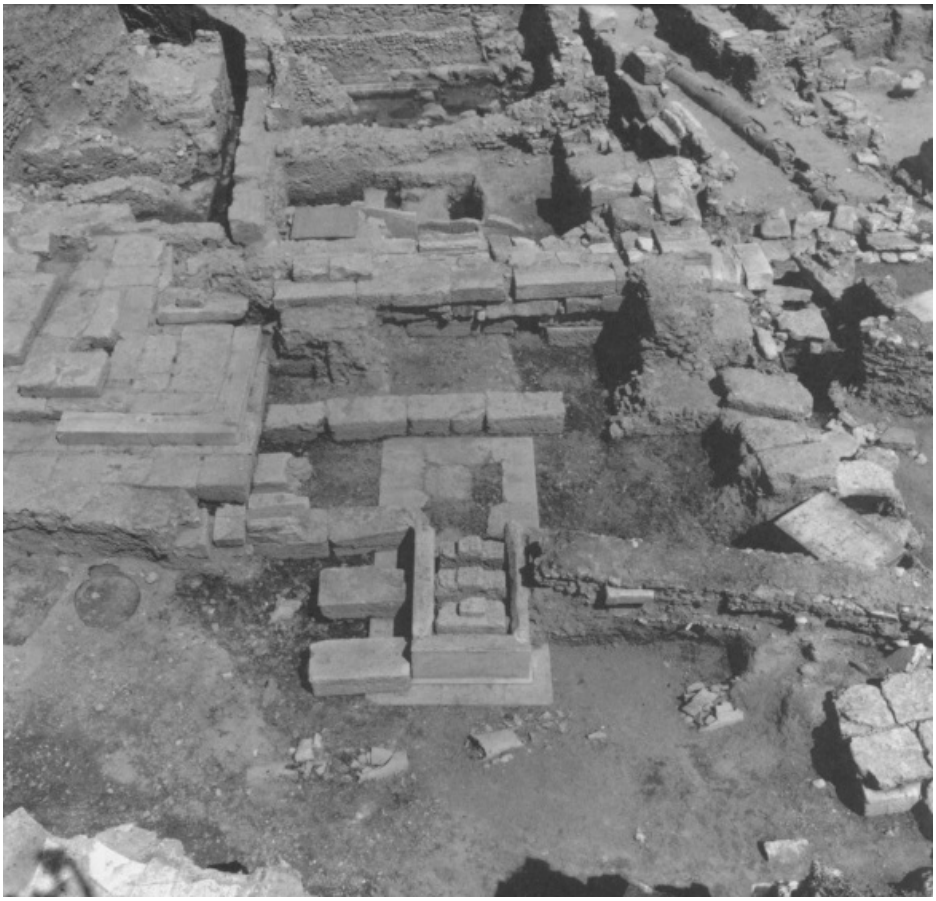


[365] Fragment of a votive relief depicting Aphrodite in the guise of Aphrodite Ourania. Edwards 1984, Plate 17.
[366] Dove figurine, found near the Altar of Aphrodite Ourania. Shear 1984, Plate 8.
[367] Foundations of the Temple and Altar of Aphrodite Ourania. Shear 1997, Plate 93.

Figure 33[368]

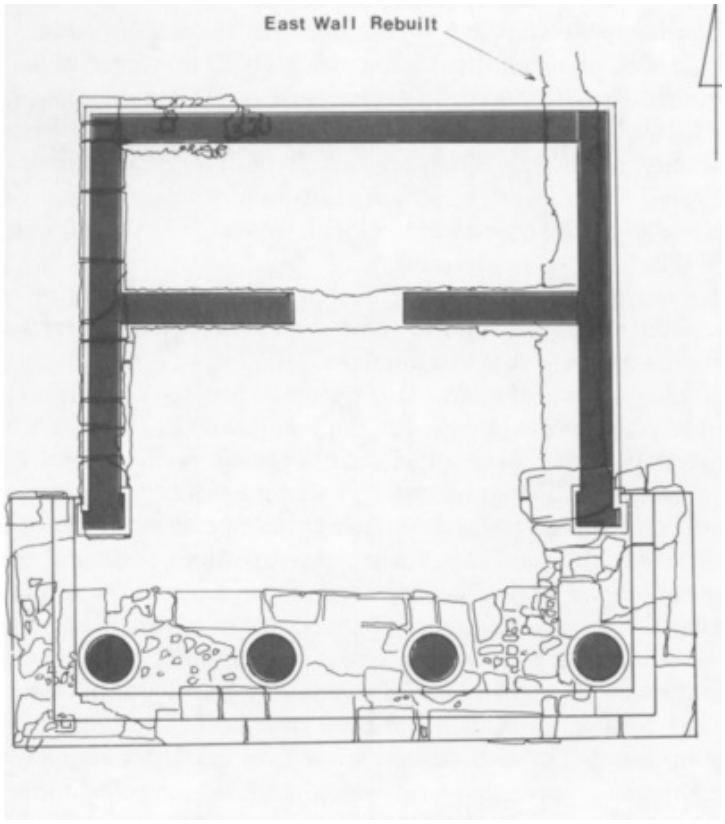


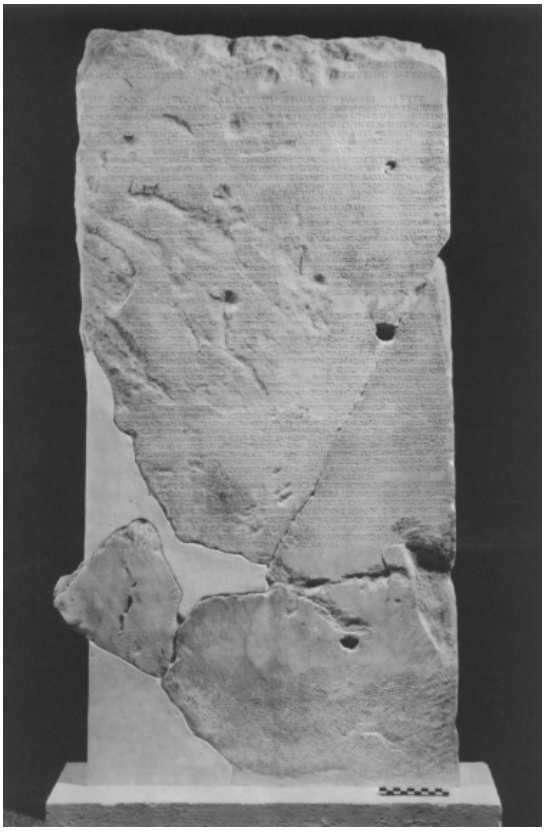
Figure 34[369]

[368] Restored plan of the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania. Shear 1997, 499.

[369] Anthemion decoration from an Ionic column from the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania. Shear 1997, Plate 97.

Figure 35[370]

Figure 36[371]



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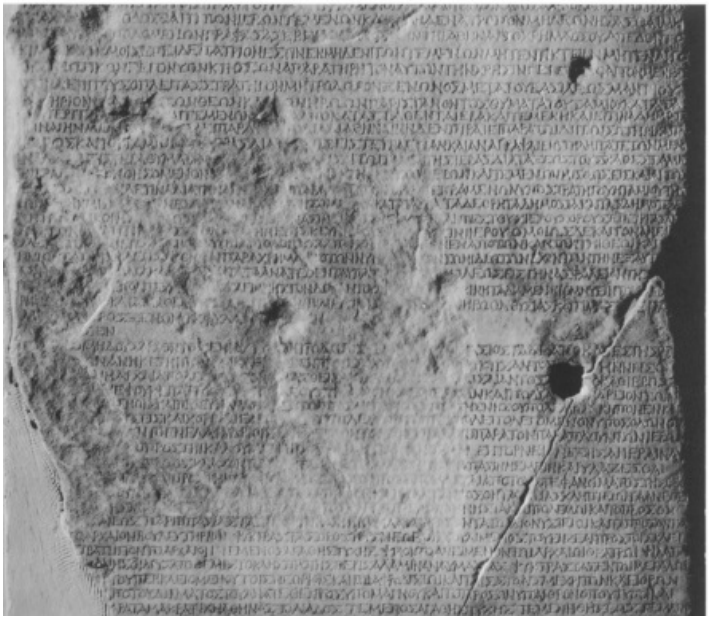
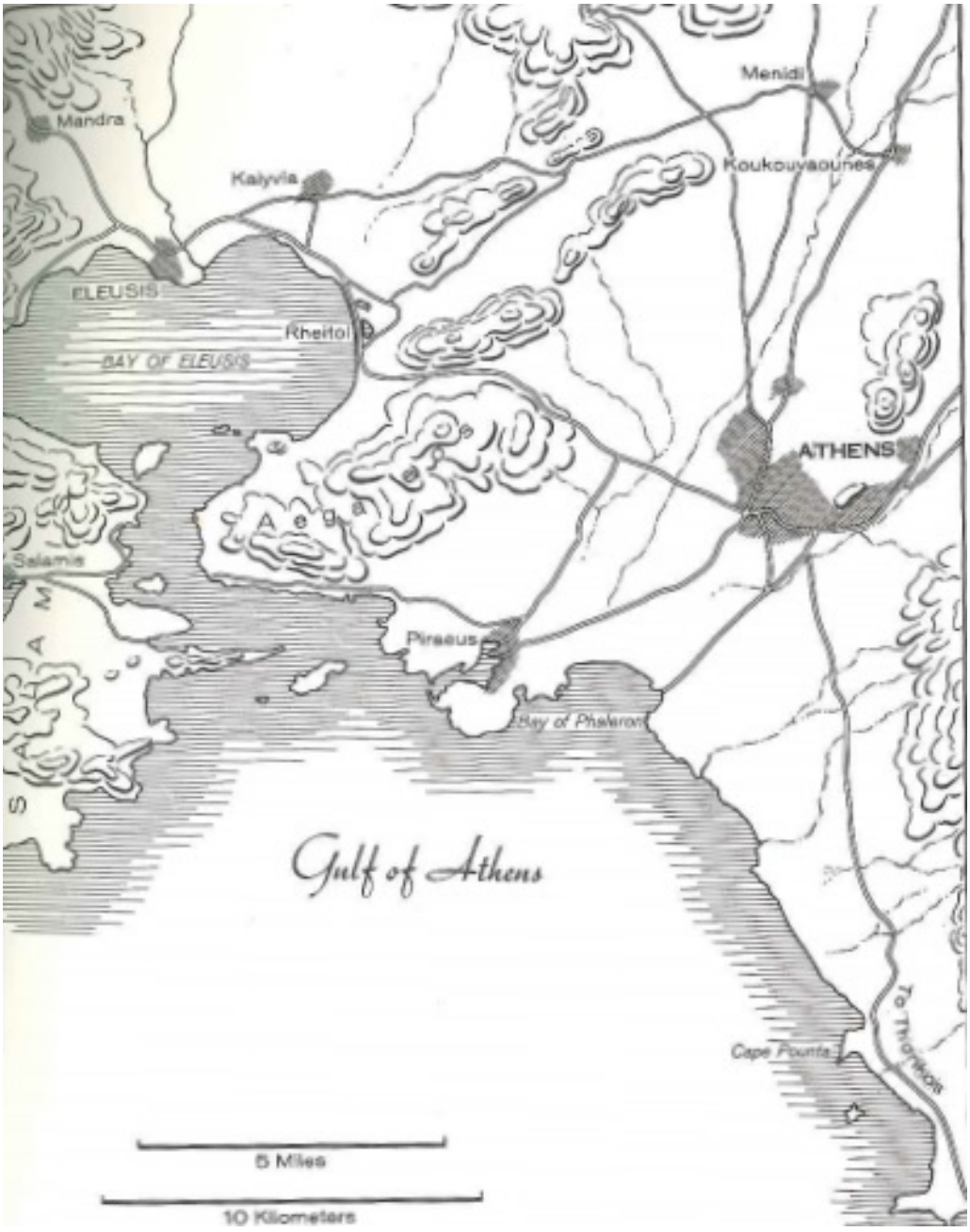


[370] Capital from the east porch of the Erechtheion (left) and anthemion decoration from the Temple of Roma and Augustus (right), for comparison. Shear 1997, Plate 97.
[371] Fragments A and C of IG II^2 1035, joined. Culley 1975, Plate 45.
[372] Close up of the central portion of Fragment A of IG II^2 1035. Culley 1975, Plate 47.

Figure 38[373]

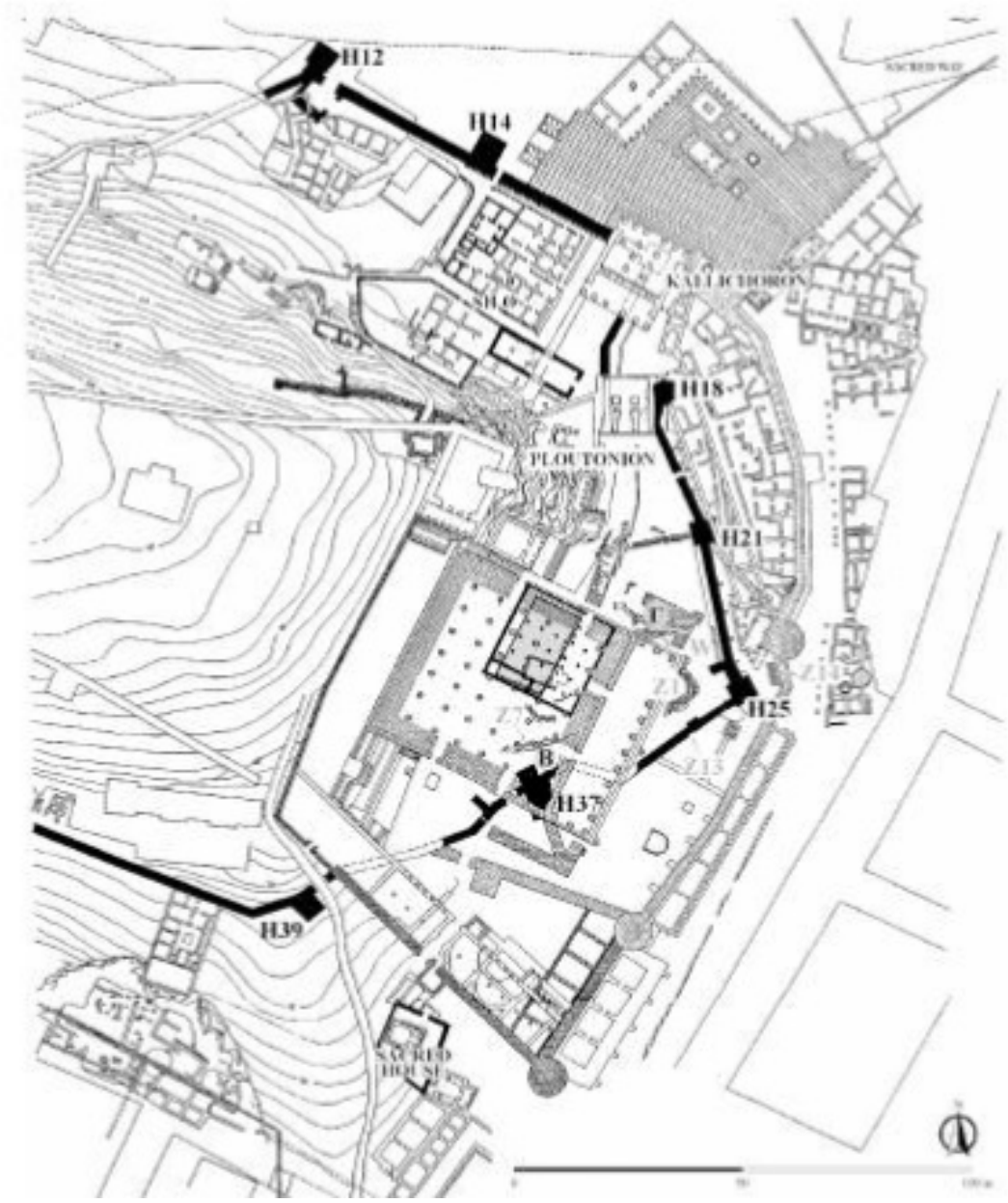
[373] Restoration of IG II^2 1035 by Gerald Culley. Culley 1975, Plate 46.

Figure 39[374]



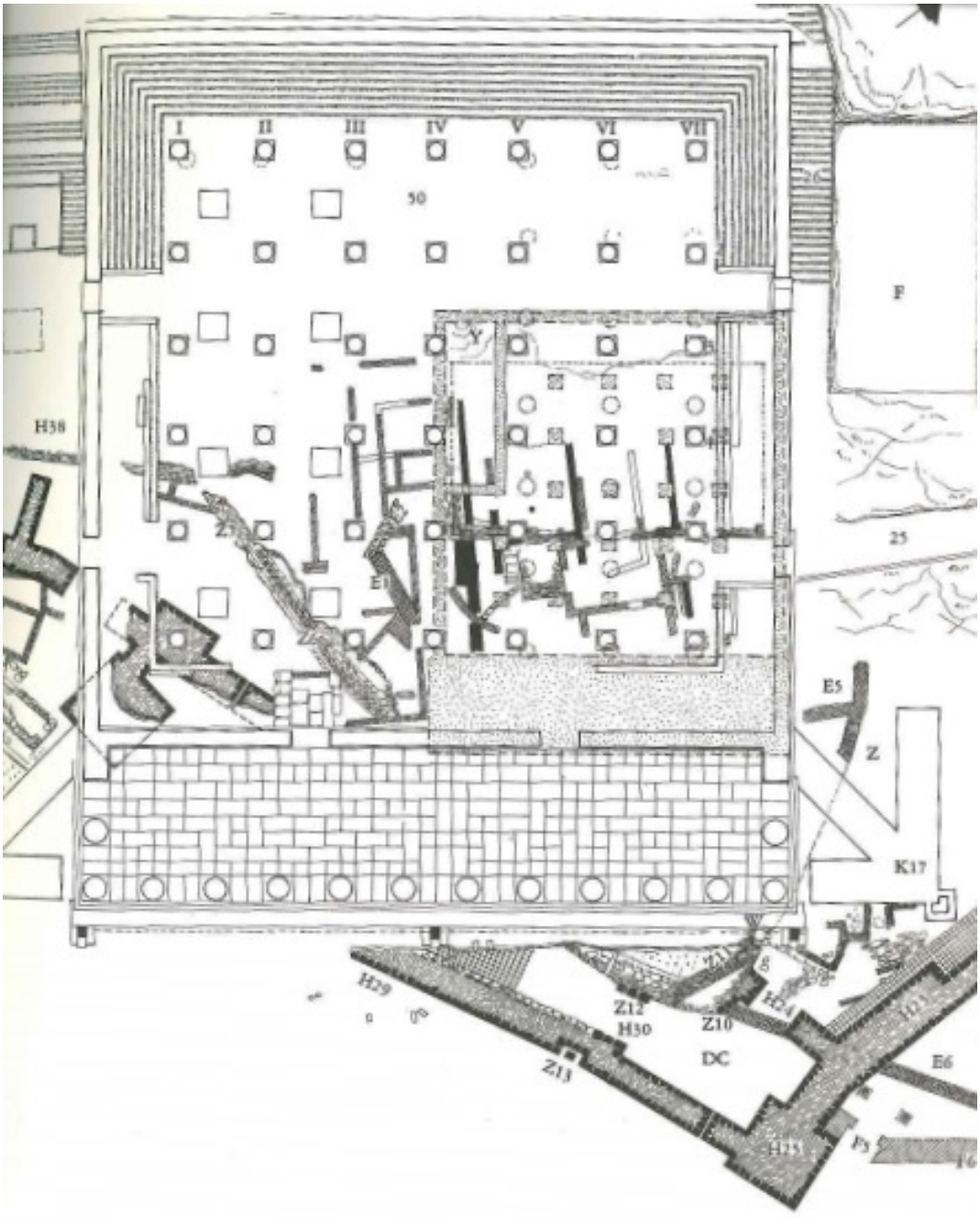
[374] Map of Attica. Mylonas 1961, Fig 1.

Figure 40[375]



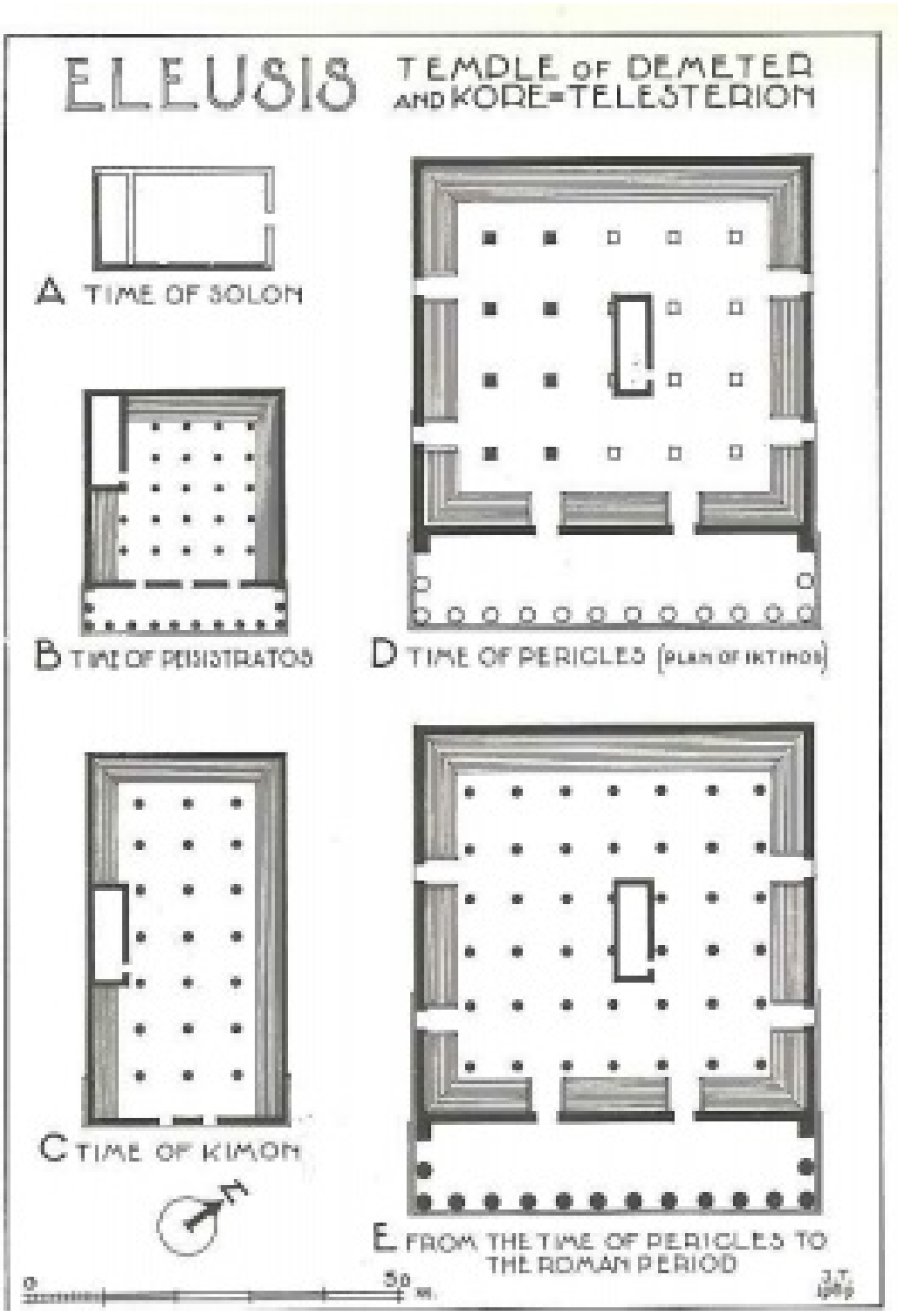
[375] Archaic plan of the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis. Cosmopoulos 2015, 140.

Figure 41[376]



[376] Plan of the Telesterion Area with all subsequent building plans. Mylonas 1961, Fig 6.

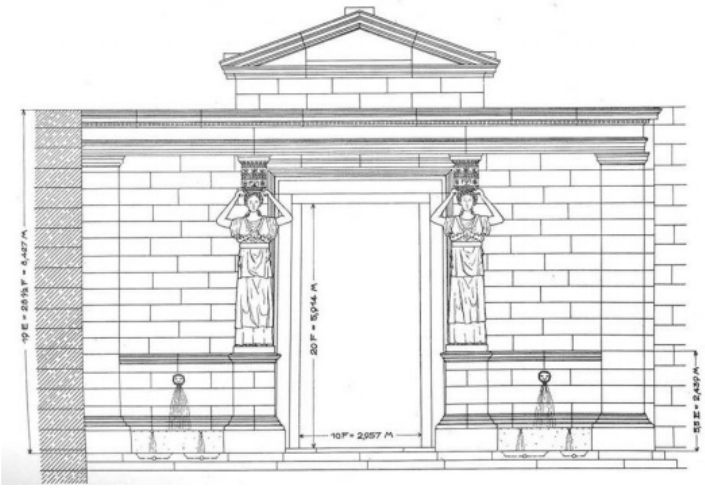
Figure 42[377]



[377] Plans of the telesteria over time. Mylonas 1961, Fig 26.

Figure 43[378]

Figure 44[379]



[378] Caryatid from the Lesser Propylaea. Mylonas 1961, Fig 56.

[379] Restored plan of the Lesser Propylaea by Hans Hörmann Barnard 2011, 75.

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